



HIS EXCEL: G:WASHINGTON E s Q.



HIS EXCEL: G:WASHINGTON E s Q.

A N
American Selection

O F
Lessons in Reading and Speaking.

C A L C U L A T E D

To improve the MINDS and refine the TASTE of
YOUTH.

A N D A L S O

To instruct them in the GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, and POLI-
TICS of the UNITED STATES.

To which is prefixed,

RULES in ELOCUTION, and DIRECTIONS for expres-
sing the principal PASSIONS of the Mind.

B E I N G

The THIRD PART of a Grammatical Institute
of the English Language.

By NOAH WEBSTER, jun. Esq.

THE THIRD EDITION,
GREATLY ENLARGED.

*Begin with the Infant in his Cradle: Let the first Word be lisps be Washington.
MIRABEAU.*

P H I L A D E L P H I A :

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I do certify, that on the eleventh of May 1785,
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TO THE
Rev. JOHN ANDREWS, D. D.

PRINCIPAL *of the* ACADEMY *of the* PROTESTANT
EPISCOPAL CHURCH *in* Philadelphia;

A PATRON OF SCIENCE,
A LOVER OF HIS COUNTRY,
AN EXAMPLE OF RELIGION AND VIRTUE,
AND FRIEND OF MANKIND;

This THIRD PART of the Grammatical Institute of the English Language,

Is most respectfully inscribed,

By his most obedient

and very humble servant,

N. WEBSTER..



P R E F A C E.

THE design of this THIRD PART of the Grammatical Institute of the English Language, is to furnish schools with a variety of exercises for Reading and Speaking. Colleges and Academies are already supplied with many excellent collections for this purpose; among which, the *Art of Speaking*, *Enfield's Speaker*, *Enfield's Exercises*, *the Preceptor*, *the Young Gentleman and Lady's Monitor*, and *Scott's Lessons*, are used with great reputation. But none of these, however judicious the selection, is calculated particularly for American schools. The essays respect distant nations or ages; or contain general ideas of morality. In America, it will be useful to furnish schools with additional essays, containing the history, geography, and transactions of the United States. Information on these subjects is necessary for youth, both in forming their habits and improving their minds. A love of our country, and an acquaintance with its true state, are indispensable—they should be acquired in early life.

In the following work, I have endeavored to make such a collection of essays as should form the morals as well as improve the knowledge of youth.

In the choice of pieces, I have been attentive to the political interests of America. I consider it as a capital fault in all our schools, that the books generally used contain subjects wholly uninteresting to our youth; while the writings that mark-

ed the revolution, which are not inferior in any respect to the orations of Cicero and Demosthenes, and which are calculated to impress interesting truths upon young minds, lie neglected and forgotten. Several of those masterly addresses of Congress, written at the commencement of the late revolution, contain such noble sentiments of liberty and patriotism, that I cannot help wishing to transfuse them into the breasts of the rising generation.

This part completes the system I had proposed to publish for the use of schools. To refine and establish our language, to facilitate the acquisition of grammatical knowledge, and diffuse the principles of virtue and patriotism, is the task I have labored to perform; and whether the success should equal my wishes or not, I shall still have the satisfaction of reflecting that I have made a laudable effort to advance the happiness of my country.

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October 1787.

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RULES for READING and SPEAKING.

R U L E I.

Let your articulation be clear and distinct.

A GOOD articulation consists in giving every letter and syllable its proper pronunciation of sound.

Let each syllable and the letters which compose it, be pronounced with a clear voice, without whining, drawing, lisping, stammering, mumbling in the throat, or speaking through the nose. Avoid equally a dull, drawing habit, and too much rapidity of pronunciation; for each of these faults destroys a distinct articulation.

R U L E II.

Observe the stops, and mark the proper pauses, but make no pause where the sense requires none.

The characters we use as stops are extremely arbitrary and do not always mark a suspension of the voice. On the contrary, they are often employed to separate the several members of a period, and show the grammatical construction. Nor when they are designed to mark pauses, do they always determine the length of those pauses; for this depends much on the sense and the nature of the subject. A semicolon, for example, requires a longer pause in a grave discourse, than in a lively and spirited declamation. However, as children are incapable of nice distinctions, it may be best to adopt at first some general rule with respect to the pauses *, and teach them to pay the same attention to these characters as they do to the words. They should be cautioned likewise against pausing in the midst of a member of a sentence, where the

B

sense

* See the First Part of the Institute, where the proportion of the comma, semicolon, colon, and period, is fixed at one, two, four, six.

sense requires the words to be closely connected in pronunciation.

R U L E III.

Pay the strictest attention to accent, emphasis, and cadence.

Let the accented syllables be pronounced with a proper stress of voice ; the unaccented with little stress of voice, but distinctly.

The important words of a sentence, which I call naturally emphatical, have a claim to a considerable force of voice ; but particles, such as, *of*, *to*, *as*, *and*, &c. require no force of utterance, unless they happen to be emphatical, which is rarely the case. No person can read or speak well, unless he understands what he reads ; and the sense will always determine what words are emphatical. It is a matter of the highest consequence, therefore, that a speaker should clearly comprehend the meaning of what he delivers, that he may know where to lay the emphasis. This may be illustrated by a single example. This short question, *Will you ride to town to day ?* is capable of four different meanings, and consequently of four different answers, according to the placing of the emphasis. If the emphasis is laid upon *you*, the question is, whether *you* will ride to town or *another person*. If the emphasis is laid on *ride*, the question is, whether you will *ride* or go on *foot*. If the emphasis is laid on *town*, the question is, whether you will ride to *town* or to *another place*. If the emphasis is laid on *to day*, the question is, whether you will ride *to day* or some *other day*. Thus the whole meaning of a phrase often depends on the emphasis ; and it is absolutely necessary that it should be laid on the proper words.

Cadence is a falling of the voice in pronouncing the closing syllable of a period*. This ought not to be uniform ; but different at the close of different sentences.

But

* We may observe that good speakers always pronounce upon a certain key; for although they modulate the voice according to the various ideas they express, yet they retain the same pitch of voice. Accent and em-

But in interrogative sentences, the sense often requires the closing word or syllable to be pronounced with an elevated voice. This, however, is only when the last word is emphatical ; as in this question, “ Betrayest thou the son of man with a *kiss* ?” Here the subject of enquiry is, whether the common token of love and benevolence is prostituted to the purpose of treachery ; the force of the question depends on the last word, which is therefore to be pronounced with an elevation of voice. But in this question, “ Where is *boasting* then ?” the emphatical word is *boasting*, which of course requires an elevation of voice.

The most natural pitch of voice is that in which we speak in ordinary conversation. Whenever the voice is raised above this key, pronunciation is difficult and fatiguing. There is a difference between a *loud* and an *high* voice. A person may speak much *louder* than he does in ordinary discourse, without any elevation of voice ; and he may be heard distinctly, upon the same key, either in a private room or in a large assembly.

R U L E IV.

Let the sentiments you express be accompanied with proper tones, looks and gestures.

By *tones* I mean the various modulations of voice by which we naturally express the emotions and passions. By *looks* I mean the expression of the emotions and passions in the countenance.

Gestures are the various motions of the hands or body, which correspond to the several sentiments and passions which the speaker designs to express.

All these should be perfectly natural. They should be the same which we use in common conversation. A speaker

phasis require no elevation of the voice, but a more forcible expression on the same key. Cadence respects the last syllable only of the sentence ; which syllable is actually pronounced with a lower tone of voice ; but when words of several syllables close a period, all the syllables but the last, are pronounced on the same key as the rest of the sentence.

Speaker should endeavor to feel what he speaks ; for the perfection of reading and speaking is, to pronounce the words as if the sentiments were our own.

If a person is rehearsing the words of an angry man, he should assume the same furious looks, his eyes should flash with rage, his gestures should be violent, and the tone of his voice, threatening. If kindness is to be expressed, the countenance should be calm and placid, and wear a smile—the tone should be mild, and the motion of the hand inviting. An example of the first, we have in these words, “ Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels : ” Of the last, in these words, “ Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you, from the foundation of the world.” A man who should repeat these different passages with the *same looks, tones, and gestures*, would pass, with his hearers for a very injudicious speaker.

The whole art of reading and speaking—all the rules of eloquence may be comprised in this concise direction : *Let a reader or a speaker express every word as if the sentiment were his own.*

General Directions for expressing certain Passions or Sentiments.—From the Art of Speaking.

Mirth or Laughter opens the mouth, crisps the nose, lessens the aperture of the eyes, and shakes the whole frame.

Perplexity draws down the eye-brows, hangs the head, casts down the eyes, closes the eye-lids, shuts the mouth and pinches the lips—then suddenly the whole body is agitated, the person walks about busily, stops abruptly, talks to himself, &c.

Vexation adds to the foregoing, complaint, fretting and lamenting.

Pity draws down the eyebrows, opens the mouth, and draws together the features.

Grief is expressed by weeping, stamping with the feet, lifting up the eyes to heaven, &c.

Melancholy is gloomy and motionless, the lower jaw falls, the eyes are cast down and half shut, words few and interrupted with sighs.

Fear opens the eyes and mouth, shortens the nose, draws down the eye-brows, gives the countenance an air of wildness; the face becomes pale, the elbows are drawn back parallel with the sides, one foot is drawn back, the heart beats violently, the breath is quick, the voice weak and trembling. Sometimes it produces shrieks and fainting.

Shame turns away the face from the beholders; covers it with blushes, casts down the head and eyes, draws down the eye-brows, makes the tongue to falter, or strikes the person dumb.

Remorse casts down the countenance, and clouds it with anxiety. Sometimes the teeth gnash, and the right hand beats the breast.

Courage, steady and cool, opens the countenance, gives the whole form an erect and graceful air. The voice is firm, and the accents strong and articulate.

Boasting is loud and blustering. The eyes stare, the face is red and bloated, the mouth pouts, the voice is hollow the arms a kimbo, the head nods in a threatening manner, the right fist sometimes clenched and brandished.

Pride assumes a lofty look, the eyes open, the mouth pouting, the lips pinched, the words slow and stiff, with an air of importance, the arms a-kimbo, and the legs at a distance or taking large strides.

Authority opens the countenance, but draws down the eye-brows a little, so as to give the person an air of gravity.

Commanding requires a peremptory tone of voice and a severe look.

Inviting is expressed with a smile of complacency, the hand with the palm upward, drawn gently towards the body.

Hope brightens the countenance, arches the eye-brows,

brows, gives the eyes an eager wishful look, opens the mouth to half a smile, bends the body a little forward.

Love lights up a smile upon the countenance, the forehead is smoothed, the eye-brows arched, the mouth a little open, and smiling, the eyes languishing, the countenance assumes an eager wishful look, mixed with an air of satisfaction. The accents are soft and winning, the tone of the voice flattering, &c.

Wonder opens the eyes, and makes them appear prominent. The body is fixed in a contracted stooping posture, the mouth is open, the hands often raised. Wonder at first strikes a person dumb; then breaks forth into exclamations.

Curiosity opens the eyes and mouth, lengthens the neck, bends the body forward, and fixes it in one posture, &c.

Anger is expressed by rapidity, interruption, noise and trepidation, the neck is stretched out, the head nodding in a threatening manner. The eyes red, staring, rolling, sparkling; the eye-brows drawn down over them, the forehead wrinkled, the nostrils stretched, every vein swelled, every muscle strained. When anger is violent, the mouth is opened and drawn towards the ears, shew the teeth in a gnashing posture; the feet stamping, the right hand thrown out, threatening with a clenched fist, and the whole frame agitated.

Peevishness is expressed in nearly the same manner, but with more moderation, the eyes a-squint upon the object of displeasure; the upper lip drawn up disdainfully.

Malice sets the jaws, or gnashes with the teeth; sends flashes from the eyes, draws the mouth down towards the ears, clenches the fist, and bends the elbows.

Envy is expressed in the same manner; but more moderately.

Aversion turns the face from the object; the hands spread out to keep it off.

Jealousy shews itself by restlessness, peevishness, thoughtfulness, anxiety, absence of mind. It is a mixture of a variety of passions, and assumes a variety of appearances.

Contempt

Contempt assumes a haughty air ; the lips closed, and pouting.

Modesty or *humility* bends the body forward, casts down the eyes. The voice is low, the words few, and tone of utterance submissive.

EXAMPLES for ILLUSTRATION.

Interrogation, or Questioning.

One day, when the moon was under an eclipse, she complained thus to the sun of the discontinuance of his favors. My dearest friend, said she, why do you not shine upon me as you used to do ? Do I not shine upon thee ? said the sun : I am very sure that I intend it. O no ! replies the moon : but I now perceive the reason. I see that dirty planet the earth is got between us.

Dodstey's Fables.

Life is short and uncertain : we have not a moment to lose. Is it prudent to throw away any of our time in tormenting ourselves or others, when we have little for honest pleasures ? Forgetting our weakness, we stir up mighty enmities, and fly to wound as if we were invulnerable. Wherefore all this bustle and noise ? The best use of a short life is, to make it agreeable to ourselves and to others. Have you cause of quarrel with your servant, your master, your king, your neighbour ? forbear a moment ; death is at hand, which makes all equal. What has a man to do with wars, tumults, ambushes ? You would destroy your enemy ? You lose your trouble ; death will do your business while you are at rest. And, after all, when you have got your revenge, how short will be your joy or his pain ? While we are among men let us cultivate humanity : let us not be the cause of fear nor pain to one another. Let us despise injury, malice, and detraction ; and bear with an equal mind such transitory evils. While we speak, while we think, death comes up, and closes the scene. *Art of Thinking.*

Wonder.

Then let us haste toward those piles of wonder
That scorn to bow beneath the weight of years— Lo !

Lo ! to my view, the awful mansions rise
The pride of art, the sleeping place of death !

Freneau.

Joy.

Let this auspicious day be ever sacred ;
No mourning, no misfortunes happen on it ;
Let it be mark'd for triumph and rejoicing ;
Let happy lovers ever make it holy,
Choose it to bless their hopes, and crown their wishes ;
This happy day, that gives me my Calista.

Fair Penitent.

Then is Orestes blest !—My griefs are fled !
Fled like a dream !—Methinks I tread in air !
Surprising happiness ! unlook'd for joy !
Never let love despair ! The prize is mine !
Be smooth, ye seas, and, ye propitious winds,
Blow from Epirus to the Spartan coast ?

Distrest Mother.

Grief.

All dark, and comfortless !
Where are those various objects that, but now,
Employ'd my busy eyes ? Where those eyes ?
Dead are their piercing rays, that lately shot
O'er flow'ry vales to distant sunny hills,
And drew with joy the vast horizon in.
These groping hands are now my only guides,
And feeling all my sight.

O misery ! What words can sound my grief ?
Shut from the living whilst among the living ;
Dark as the grave amidst the bustling world.
No more to view the beauty of the spring,
Or see the face of kindred, or of friend. *Trag. of Lear.*

Courage.

A generous few, the vet'ran hardy gleanings
Of many a hapless fight, with a fierce
Heroic fire inspired each other ;
Resolv'd on death, disdaining to survive
Their dearest country—“ If we fall,” I cry'd,
“ Let us not tamely fall like passive cowards !

No—let us live, or let us die like men !—
 Come on, my friends. To Alfred we will cut
 Our glorious way ; or, as we nobly perish,
 Will offer to the genius of our country
 Whole hecatombs of Danes.”—As if one foul
 Had mov'd them all, around their heads they flash'd
 Their flaming falchions—“ Lead us to those Danes !
 Our country, vengeance !” was the general cry.

*Masque of Alfred.**Fear.*

How ill this taper burns !—Ha ! who comes here ?
 I think, it is the weakness of mine eyes,
 That shapes this monstrous apparition !—
 It comes upon me—Art thou any thing ?
 Art thou some god, some angel, or some devil,
 That mak'st my blood cold, and my hair to stand ?
 Speak to me, what art thou ?

Love.

Who can behold such beauty, and be silent ?
 Oh ! I could talk of thee forever ;
 For ever fix and gaze on those dear eyes ;
 For every glance they send, darts through my soul.

*Orphan.**Anger.*

Hear me, rash man ; on thy allegiance hear me.
 Since thou hast striven to make us break our vow,
 (Which nor our nature nor our place can bear)
 We banish thee for ever from our sight
 And kingdom. If, when three days are expir'd,
 Thy hated trunk be found in our dominions,
 That moment is thy death.—Away !
 By Jupiter this shall not be revok'd.

*Trag. of Lear.**Contempt.*

Away !—no woman could descend so low.
 A skipping, dancing, worthless tribe you are.
 Fit only for yourselves, you herd together ;
 And when the circling glass warms your vain hearts,
 You talk of beauties that you never saw,
 And fancy raptures that you never knew.

*Fair Penitent.**Pity.*

Pity.

As, in a theatre, the eyes of men,
After a well-grac'd actor leaves the stage,
Are idly bent on him that enters next,
Thinking his prattle to be tedious ;
Even so, or with much more contempt, mens eyes
Did scowl on Richard. No man cried, God save him !
No joyful tongue gave him his welcome home ;
Which, with such gentle sorrow, he shook off,
(His face still combating with tears and smiles,
The badges of his grief and patience,) I
That had not God, for some strong purpose, steel'd
The hearts of men, they must have melted,
And barbarism itself have pitied him. — *Richard II.*

Hatred.

How like a fawning publican he looks ?
I hate him, for he is a christian ;
But more, for that in low simplicity
He lends out money gratis, and brings down
The rate of usance here with us in Venice ;
If I can catch him once upon the hip,
I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him.
He hates our sacred nation ; and he rails,
Ev'n there where merchants most do congregate,
On me, my bargains, and my well-won thrift,
Which he calls usury. Cursed be my tribe
If I forgive him !

*Merch. of Venice.**Pride.*

Ask for what end the heav'nly bodies shine,
Earth for whose use—Pride answers, “ ‘Tis for mine :
For me kind nature wakes her genial pow'r,
Suckles each herb, and spreads out ev'ry flow'r ;
Annual, for me, the grape, the rose, renew
The juice nectarious and the balmy dew ;
For me, the mine a thousand treasures brings ;
For me, health gushes from a thousand springs ;
Seas roll to waft me, suns to light me rise ;
My footstool earth, my canopy the skies,”

*Essay on Man.**Humility.*

Humility.

I know not how to thank you. Rude I am,
In speech and manners; never till this hour
Stood I in such a presence: yet, my Lord,
There's something in my breast which makes me bold
To say, that Norval ne'er will shame thy favor. *Dougl.*

Melancholy.

There is a stupid weight upon my senses,
A dismal sullen stillness, that succeeds
The storm of rage and grief, like silent death
After the tumult and the noise of life.
Love was the informing active fire within:
Now that is quench'd, the mass forgets to move,
And longs to mingle with its kindred earth.

*Fair Penitent.**Commanding.*

Silence, ye winds
That make outrageous war upon the ocean;
And thou, old ocean, still thy boist'rous waves:
Ye warring elements be hush'd as death,
While I impose my dread commands on hell.
And thou, profoundest hell, whose dreadful sway
Is given to me by fate and demogorgon—
Hear, hear my powerful voice through all thy regions;
And, from thy gloomy caverns,—thunder thy reply.

*Rinaldo and Armida.**Hope.*

O hope, sweet flatterer, whose delusive touch
Sheds on affected minds the balm of comfort,
Relieves the load of poverty, sustains
The captive bending with the weight of bonds,
And smooths the pillow of disease and pain;
Send back th' exploring messenger with joy,
And let me hail thee from that friendly grove.

*Boadicea.**Boasting.*

My arm a nobler victory ne'er gain'd;
And I am prouder to have pass'd that stream,
Than that I drove a million o'er the plain.

Lee's Alexander.

Perplexity.

Go fellow, get thee home, provide some carts,
And bring away the armour that is there.
Gentlemen, will you go and muster men?
If I know how to order these affairs,
Disorderly thus thrust into my hands,
Never believe me.—All is uneven,
And every thing is left at six and seven. *Richard II.*

Revenge.

If it will feed nothing else, it will feed my revenge.
He hath disgraced me, and hindred me of half a million,
laughed at my losses, mocked at my gains, scorned my
nation, thwarted my bargains, cooled my friends, heated
mine enemies. And what's his reason? I am a Jew.
Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, di-
mensions, senses, affection, passions? Is he not fed with
the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to
the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and
cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is?
If you prick us, do we not bleed? if you tickle us, do we
not laugh? if you poison us, do we not die? and if you
wrong us, shall we not revenge? If we are like you in
the rest, we will resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a
Christian, what is his humility? revenge. If a Christian
wrong a Jew, what should his suffrance be by Christian
example? why, revenge. The villainy you teach me, I
will execute; and it shall go hard but I will better the
instruction. *Merch. of Venice.*

Remorse.

I remember a mass of things, but nothing distinctly;
a quarrel, but nothing wherefore. O that men should
put an enemy in their mouths, to steal away their brains!
that we should, with joy, pleasance, revel, and applause,
transform ourselves into beasts!—I will ask him for my
place again—he shall tell me I'm a drunkard! Had I as
many mouths as Hydra, such an answer would stop them
all. To be now a sensible man, by and by a fool, and
presently a beast! Every inordinate cup is unblest, and
the ingredient is a devil. *Trag. of Othello.*

In the following Lessons, there are many examples of anti-
thesis, or opposition in the sense. For the benefit of the
learner, some of these examples are distinguished by Italic
Letters ; and the words so marked are emphatical.

SELECT SENTENCES.

T E A C H I N G.

C H A P. I.

TO be very active in laudable pursuits, is the distinguishing characteristic of a man of merit.

There is an heroic innocence, as well as an heroic courage.

There is a mean in all things. Even virtue itself has its stated limits ; which not being strictly observed, it ceases to be virtue.

It is wiser to *prevent* a quarrel beforehand, than to *revenge* it afterwards.

It is much better to *reprove*, than to be angry *secretly*.

No revenge is more heroic, than that which torments envy, by doing good.

The discretion of a man deferreth his anger, and it is his glory to pass over a transgression.

Money, like manure, does no good till it is spread. There is no real use of riches, except in the distribution : the rest is all conceit.

A wise man will desire no more than what he may get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and live upon contentedly.

A contented mind, and a good conscience, will make

C a man

a man happy in all conditions. He knows not how to fear, who dares to die.

There is but one way of fortifying the soul against all gloomy presages and terrors of the mind ; and that is, by securing to themselves the friendship and protection of that Being who disposes of events, and governs futurity.

Philosophy is then only valuable, when it serves for the law of life, and not for the ostentation of science.

C H A P. II.

WITHOUT a friend the world is but a wilderness. A man may have a thousand intimate acquaintances, and not a friend amongst them all. If you have one friend, think yourself happy.

When once you profess yourself a friend, endeavor to be always such. He can never have any true friends who is always changing them.

Prosperity gains friends, and adversity tries them.

Nothing more engages the affections of men, than a handsome address, and graceful conversation.

Complaisance renders a superior amiable, an equal agreeable, and an inferior acceptable.

Excess of ceremony shews want of breeding. That civility is best, which excludes all superfluous formality.

Ingratitude is a crime so shameful, that the man was never yet found, who would acknowledge himself guilty of it.

Few things are impossible to industry and skill.

Diligence is never wholly lost.

There cannot be a greater treachery, than first to raise a confidence, and then deceive it.

By others' faults, wise men correct their own.

No man hath a thorough taste of prosperity, to whom adversity never happened.

When our vices leave us, we flatter ourselves that we leave them.

It is as great a point of wisdom to bide ignorance as to discover knowledge.

Pitch upon that course of life which is the most excellent ; and habit will render it the most delightful.

C H A P. III.

CUSTOM is the *plague* of wise men, and the *idol* of fools.

As to be *perfectly* just, is an attribute of the divine nature ; to be so to the *utmost* of our abilities, is the glory of man.

No man was ever *cast* down with the *injuries* of fortune, unless he had before suffered himself to be *deceived* by her *favors*.

Anger may *glance* into the breast of a wise man, but *rests* only in the bosom of fools.

None more impatiently suffer injuries, than those that are most forward in *doing* them.

By *taking* revenge, a man is but *even* with his enemy ; but in *passing* it over, he is *superior*.

To *err* is *human* ; to *forgive*, *divine*.

A more glorious victory cannot be gained over another man, than this, that when the *injury* began on *his* part, the *kindness* should begin on *ours*.

The *prodigal* robs his *heir*, the *miser* robs *himself*.

We should take a prudent care for the *future*, but so as to enjoy the *present*. It is no part of wisdom, to be miserable *to-day*, because we may happen to be more so *to-morrow*.

To mourn *without measure* is *folly* ; not to mourn *at all*, *insensibility*.

Some would be thought to do great things, who are but tools and instruments ; like the fool who fancied he played upon the organ, when he only drew the bellows.

Though a man ~~may~~ become learned by another's learning, he never can be *wise* but by his own *wisdom*.

He who wants good sense is unhappy in having learning ; for he has thereby more ways of exposing himself.

It is ungenerous to give a man occasion to blush at his own *ignorance* in *one* thing, who perhaps may *excel* us in *many*.

No object is more pleasing to the eye, than the sight of a man whom you have obliged ; nor any music so agreeable to the ear, as the voice of one that owns you for his benefactor.

The coin that is most current amongst mankind is flattery ; the only benefit of which is, that by hearing what we are *not*, we may be instructed what we *ought* to be.

The character of the person who commends you, is to be considered before you set a value on his esteem. The wise man applauds *him* whom he thinks most *virtuous*, the rest of the world, *him* who is most *wealthy*.

The temperate man's pleasures are *durable*, because they are *regular* ; and all his life is *calm* and *serene*, because it is *innocent*.

A good man will love *himself* too well to *lose*, and his *neighbor* too well to *win*, an estate by gaming. The love of gaming will corrupt the best principles in the world.

C H A P. IV.

AN angry man who *suppresses* his passions, *thinks* worse than he *speaks* ; and an angry man that will *chide*, *speaks* worse than he *thinks*.

A good word is an *easy* obligation ; but not to speak ill requires only our silence, which costs us *nothing*.

It is to *affectation* the world owes its whole race of cox-combs. Nature in her whole drama never drew such a part ; she has sometimes made a *fool*, but a *coxcomb* is always of his *own making*.

It is the infirmity of *little* minds to be taken with *every* appearance, and dazzled with *every* thing that *sparkles* ; but *great* minds have but *little* admiration, because *few* things appear *new* to them.

It happens to men of learning, as to ears of corn ; they shoot up, and raise their heads high, while they are empty ; but when full, and swelled with grain, they begin to flag and droop.

He that is truly polite, knows how to contradict with respect, and to please without adulation ; and is equally remote from an insipid compliance, and a low familiarity.

The failings of good men are commonly more published in the world than their good deeds ; and one fault of a deserving man, will meet with more reproaches, than all his virtues, praise : Such is the force of ill will, and ill nature..

It is harder to avoid censure, than to gain applause ; for this may be done by one great or wise action in an age ; but to escape censure, a man must pass his whole life without saying or doing one ill or foolish thing.

When Darius offered Alexander ten thousand talents to divide Asia equally with him, he answered, The earth cannot bear two suns, nor Asia, two kings. Parmenio, a friend of Alexander's, hearing the great offers that Darius had made, said, Were I Alexander, I would accept them. So would I, replied Alexander, were I Parmenio.

An old age, unsupported with matter for discourse and meditation, is much to be dreaded. No state can be more destitute than that of him, who, when the delights of sense forsake him, has no pleasures of the mind.

Such is the condition of life that something is always wanted to happiness. In youth we have warm hopes, which are soon blasted by rashness and negligence, and great designs, which are defeated by inexperience. In age we have knowledge and prudence, without spirit to exert, or motives to prompt them. We are able to plan schemes and regulate measures, but have not time remaining to bring them to completion.

Truth is always consistent with itself, and needs nothing to help it out. It is always near at hand, and fits upon our lips, and is ready to drop out before we are aware : Whereas a lie is troublesome, and sets a man's invention upon the rack ; and one trick needs a great many more to make it good.

The pleasure which affects the human mind with the most lively and transporting touches, is the sense that we act in the eye of infinite wisdom, power, and goodness, that will crown our virtuous endeavors here with happiness hereafter, large as our desires, and lasting as our immortal souls; without this, the highest state of life is insipid, and with it, the lowest is a paradise.

C H A P V.

HONORABLE age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor which is measured by number of years; but wisdom is the grey hair unto man, and unspotted life is old age.

Wickedness, condemned by her own witnesses, is very timorous, and being pressed with conscience, always foretasteth evil things: for fear is nothing else, but a betraying of the succors which reason offereth.

A wise man will fear in every thing. He that contemneth small things shall fall by little and little.

A rich man beginning to fall is held up by his friends; but a poor man being down is thrust away by his friends; when a rich man is fallen he hath many helpers; he speaketh things not to be spoken, and yet men justify him; the poor man slipt and they rebuked him; he spoke wisely, and could have no place. When a rich man speaketh every man holdeth his tongue, and look, what he saith they extol it to the clouds; but if a poor man speak, they say, what fellow is this?

Many have fallen by the edge of the sword, but not so many as have fallen by the tongue. Well is he that is defended from it, and hath not passed through the venom thereof; who hath not drawn the yoke thereof, nor been bound in her bonds; for the yoke thereof is a yoke of iron, and the bands thereof are bands of brass; the death thereof is an evil death.

My son, blemish not thy good deeds, neither use uncomfortable words, when thou givest any thing. Shall not the dew assuage the heat? so is a word better than a

gift

the gift. Lo, is not a word better than a gift? but both are
we with a gracious man.

Blame not, before thou hast examined the truth; un-
derstand first, and then rebuke.

If thou wouldest get a friend, prove him first, and be
not hasty to credit him, for some men are friends for
their own occasions, and will not abide in the day of
trouble.

Forlacke not an old friend, for the new is not compa-
rable to him: a new friend is as new wine; when it is
old thou shalt drink it with pleasure.

A friend cannot be known in prosperity; and an ene-
my cannot be hidden in adversty.

Admonish thy friend; it may be he hath not done it;
and if he hath, that he do it no more. Admonish thy
friend; it may be he hath not said it, or if he hath, that
he speak it not again. Admonish a friend; for many
times it is a slander; and believe not every tale. There
is one that slippeth in his speech, but not from his heart;
and who is he that hath not offended with his tongue?

Who so discovereth secrets loseth his credit, and shall
never find a friend to his mind.

Honor thy father with thy whole heart, and forget
not the sorrows of thy mother: how canst thou recom-
pence them the things which they have done for thee?

There is nothing so much worth as a mind well in-
structed.

The lips of talkers will be telling such things as per-
tain not unto them; but the words of such as have un-
derstanding are weighed in the balance. The heart of
fools is in their mouth, but the tongue of the wise is in
their heart.

To labor, and to be contented with what a man hath,
is a sweet life.

Be not confident, even in a plain way.

Be in peace with many; nevertheless have but one
counsellor of a thousand.

Let reason go before every enterprize, and counsel be-
fore every action.

C H A. P. VI.

TH E latter part of a wise man's life is taken up in curing the follies, prejudices, and false opinions he had contracted in the former.

Censure is a tax a man pays to the public for being eminent.

Very few men, properly speaking, live at present, but are providing to live another time.

Party is the madness of many, for the gain of a few.

To endeavor to work upon the vulgar with fine sense, is like attempting to hew blocks of marble with a razor.

Superstition is the spleen of the soul.

He who tells a lie is not sensible how great a task he undertakes; for he must be forced to invent twenty more to maintain that one.

Some people will never learn any thing, for this reason, because they understand every thing too soon.

Whilst an author is yet living, we estimate his powers by the worst performance. When he is dead, we rate them by his best.

Men are grateful, in the same degree that they are resentful.

Young men are subtle arguers; the cloak of honor covers all their faults, as that of passion, all their follies.

Economy is no disgrace; it is better living on a little, than out-living a great deal.

Next to the satisfaction I receive in the prosperity of an honest man, I am best pleased with the confusion of a rascal.

What is often termed shyness, is nothing more than refined sense, and an indifference to common observations.

To endeavor all one's days to fortify our minds with learning and philosophy, is to spend so much in armor, that one has nothing left to defend.

Deference often shrinks and withers as much upon the approach of intimacy, as the sensitive plant does upon the touch of one's finger.

Modesty makes large amends for the pain it gives the persons who labor under it, by the prejudice it affords every worthy person in their favor.

The difference there is betwixt honor and honesty seems to be chiefly in the motive. The honest man does that from duty, which the man of honor does for the sake of character.

A liar begins with making falsehood appear like truth, and ends with making truth itself appear like falsehood.

Virtue should be considered as a part of taste; and we should as much avoid deceit, or sinister meaning in discourse, as we would puns, bad language, or false grammar.

The higher character a person supports, the more he should regard his minutest actions.

C H A P. VII.

DEERENCE is the most complicated, the most indirect, and the most elegant of all compliments.

To be once a rake and to glory in the character, discovers at the same time a bad disposition, and a bad taste.

How is it possible to expect that mankind will take advice, when they will not so much as take warning.

Although men are accused for not knowing their own weakness, yet perhaps as few know their own strength. It is in men as in soils, where sometimes there is a vein of gold which the owner knows not of.

Fine sense and exalted sense are not half so valuable as common sense. There are forty men of wit for one man of sense; and he that will carry nothing about with him but gold, will be every day at a loss for want of ready change.

Learning is like mercury, one of the most powerful and excellent things in the world in skilful hands; in unskilful, most mischievous.

A man should never be ashamed to own he has been in the wrong; which is but saying in other words, that he is wiser to-day than he was yesterday.

Wherever

Wherever I find a great deal of gratitude in a poor man, I take it for granted there would be as much generosity if he were a rich man.

It often happens that those are the best people, whose characters have been most injured by flanders ; as we usually find that to be the sweetest fruit, which the birds have been picking at.

The eye of a critic is often like a microscope, made so very fine and nice, that it discovers the atoms, grains, and minutest articles, without ever comprehending the whole, comparing the parts, or seeing all at once the harmony.

Honor is but a fictitious kind of honesty ; a mean, but a necessary substitute for it, in societies which have none : it is a sort of paper-credit, with which men are obliged to trade, who are deficient in the sterling cash of true morality and religion.

Persons of great delicacy should know the certainty of the following truth : there are abundance of cases which occasion suspence, in which whatever they determine they will repent of their determination ; and this through a propensity of human nature to fancy happiness in those schemes which it does not pursue.

C H A P. VIII.

WHAT a piece of work is man ! how noble in reason ! how infinite in faculties ! in form and moving, how express and admirable ! in action how like an angel ! in apprehension how like a God !

If to do, were as easy as to know what were good to do, chapels had been churches, and poor men's cottages, princes' palaces. He is a good divine that follows his own instructions : I can easier teach twenty what were good to be done, than to be one of the twenty to follow my own teaching.

Men's evil manners live in brass ; their virtues we write in water.

The web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together ;

together ; our virtues would be proud, if our faults
whipped them them not ; and our crimes would despair,
if they were not cherished by our virtues.

The sense of death is most in apprehension ;
And the poor beetle that we tread upon,
In corporal sufferance feels a pang as great,
As when a giant dies.

How far the little candle throws his beams !
So shines a good deed in a naughty world.

—Love all, trust a few,
Do wrong to none : be able for thine enemy
Rather in power than in use ; keep thy friend
Under thy own life's key : be check'd for silence,
But never task'd for speeeh.

Our indiscretion sometimes serves us well,
When our deep plots do fail : and that should teach us,
There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough.hew them how we will.

What stronger breast-plate than a heart untainted ?
Thrice is he arm'd that hath his quarrel just ;
And he but naked (though lock'd up in steel)
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted.

The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherits, shall dissolve ;
And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,
Leave not a wreck behind ! We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.

—So it falls out,
That what we have we prize not to the worth
While we enjoy it ; but being lack'd and lost,

Why

Why then we wreak the value ; then we find
 The virtue that possession would not shew us
 Whilst it was ours.

Cowards die many times before their deaths ;
 The valiant never taste of death but once.

There is some soul of goodness in things evil,
 Would men observingly distil it out,
 For our bad neighbor makes us early stirrers :
 Which is both healthful, and good husbandry,
 Besides, they are our outward consciences,
 And preachers to us all ; admonishing
 That we should dress us fairly for our end.

O momentary grace of mortal men,
 Which we more hunt for than the grace of God !
 Who builds his hope in the air of men's fair looks,
 Lives like a drunken sailor on a mast,
 Ready with every nod to tumble down
 Into the fatal bowels of the deep.

— Who shall go about
 To cozen fortune, and be honorable
 Without the stamp of merit ? Let none presume
 To wear an undeserved dignity.
 O that estates, degrees, and offices,
 Were not derived corruptly, that clear honor
 Were purchased by the merit of the wearer !
 How many then should cover, that stand bare !
 How many be commanded, that command !

— 'Tis slander !
 Whose edge is sharper than a sword ; whose tongue
 Outvenoms all the worms of Nile ; whose breath
 Rides on the posting winds, and doth belie
 All corners of the world. Kings, queens and states,
 Maids, matrons, nay the secrets of the grave,
 This viperous slander enters.

There

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune ;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows, and in miseries.

To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
Creeps in this petty space from day to day,
To the last syllable of recorded time,
And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusky death. Out, out, brief candle !
Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player,
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more ! It is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing.

He that would pass the latter part of his life, with honor and decency, must, when he is *young*, consider that he shall one day be *old*, and remember, when he is *old*, that he had once been *young*.

Avarice is always poor, but poor by her own fault.

The maxim which Periander of Corinth, one of the seven sages of Greece, left as a memorial of his knowledge and benevolence, was, “ Be master of your anger.” He considered anger as the great disturber of human life ; the chief enemy both of public happiness and private tranquility, and thought he could not lay on posterity a stronger obligation to reverence his memory, than by leaving them a salutary caution against this outrageous passion.

The universal axiom, in which all complaisance is included, and from which flow all the formalities which custom has established in civilized nations, is, —“ That no man should give any preference to himself,”—a rule so comprehensive and certain, that perhaps it is not easy for the mind to imagine an incivility without supposing it to be broken.

The foundation of content must spring up in a man’s own mind ; and he who has so little knowledge of hu-

man nature as to seek happiness by changing any thing but his own disposition, will waste his life in fruitless efforts, and multiply the griefs which he purposed to remove.

No rank in life precludes the efficacy of a well timed compliment. When Queen Elizabeth asked an Ambassador how he liked her ladies, he replied, "It was hard to judge of stars in the presence of the sun."

The crime which has been once committed, is committed again with less reluctance.

The great disturbers of our happiness in this world, are our desires, our griefs, and our fears; and to all these the *consideration of mortality* is a certain and adequate remedy. "Think (says Epictetus) frequently on poverty, banishment, and death, and thou wilt never indulge violent desires, or give up thy heart to mean sentiments.

The certainty of life cannot be long, and the probability that it will be much shorter than nature allows, ought to awaken every man to the active prosecution of whatever he is desirous to perform. It is true, that no diligence can ascertain success; death may intercept the swiftest career; but he who is cut off in the execution of an honest undertaking, has at least the honor of falling in his rank, and has fought the battle, though he mis-sed the victory.

When we act according to our duty, we commit the event to him by whose laws our actions are governed, and who will suffer none to be finally punished for obedience. But when in prospect of some good, whether natural or moral, we break the rules prescribed to us, we withdraw from the direction of superior wisdom, and take all consequences upon ourselves.

Employment is the great instrument of intellectual dominion. The mind cannot retire from its enemy into total vacancy, or turn aside from one object, but by passing to another.

Without frugality none can be rich, and with it, very few would be poor.

Though in every age there are some, who, by bold adventures

ventures or by favourable accidents, rise suddenly into riches; the bulk of mankind must owe their affluence to small and gradual profits, below which their expences must be resolutely reduced.

A man's voluntary expences should not exceed his income.

Let not a man anticipate uncertain profits.'

The happiness of the generality of the people is nothing if it is not known, and very little if it is not envied.

To improve the golden moment of opportunity, and catch the good that is within our reach, is the great art of life. Many wants are suffered which might have once been supplied, and much time is lost in regretting the time which has been lost before.

One of the Golden Precepts of *Pythagoras* directs us.—“ That a friend should not be hated for little faults.

NARRATION.

C H A P. IX.

Story of the COBLER and his SON.

A YOUNG man, son of a cobbler in a small village near Madrid, having pushed his fortune in the Indies, returned to his native country with a considerable stock, and set up as a banker in Madrid. In his absence, his parents frequently talked of him, praying fervently that Heaven would take him under its protection; and the vicar being their friend, gave them frequently the public prayers of the congregation for him. The banker was not less dutiful on his part; for, so soon as he was settled, he mounted on horseback, and went alone to the village. It was ten at night before he got there; and the honest cobbler was a-bed with his wife in a sound sleep when he knocked at the door. Open the door, says the banker;

banker ; 'tis your son Francillo. Make others believe
 that if you can, cried the old man, starting from his
 sleep ; go about your business, you thieving rogues, here
 is nothing for you : Francillo, if not dead, is now in the
 Indies. He is no longer there, replied the banker ; he is
 returned home, and it is he who now speaks to you : o-
 pen your door and receive him. Jacobo, said the wo-
 man, let us rise then ; for I really believe 'tis Francillo,
 I think I know his voice. The father, starting from bed,
 lighted a candle ; and the mother putting on her gown
 in a hurry, opened the door. Looking earnestly on
 Francillo, she flung her arms about his neck, and hug-
 ged him with the utmost affection. Jacobo embraced his
 son in his turn ; and all three, transported with joy after
 so long absence, had no end in expressing their tender-
 ness. After these pleasing transports ; the banker put
 his horse into the stable, where he found a old milch-
 cow, nurse to the whole family. He then gave the old
 folks an account of his voyage, and of all the riches he had
 brought from Peru. They listened greedily, and every
 the least particular of his relation made on them a sensi-
 ble impression of grief or joy. Having finished his
 story, he offered them a part of his estate, and intreated
 his father not to work any more. No, my son, said
 Jacobo, I love my trade, and will not leave it off. Why,
 replied the banker, is it not now high time to take your
 ease ? I do not propose your living with me at Madrid :
 I know well that a city-life would not please you : enjoy
 your own way of living ; but give over your hard labor,
 and pass the remainder of your days in ease and plenty.
 The mother seconded the son ; and Jacobo yielded. To
 please you, Francillo, said he, I will not work any more
 for the public, but will only mend my own shoes and
 those of my good friend the vicar. The agreement be-
 ing concluded, the banker eat a couple of eggs, and went
 to his bed, enjoying that pleasing satisfaction which none
 but dutiful children can feel or understand. The next
 morning the banker, leaving his parent a purse of three
 hundred ducats, returned to Madrid : but was surprised
 to

to see Jacobo at his house a few days thereafter. My father, said he, what brings you here? Francilio, answered the honest cobler, I have brought your purse; take it again; for I desire to live by my trade, and have been ready to die with uneasiness ever since I left off working.

C H A P. X.

HONESTY REWARDED.

PERRIN lost both parents before he could articulate their names, and was obliged to a charity-house for his education. At the age of fifteen he was hired by a farmer to be a shepherd, in the neighborhood of Lucetta, who kept her father's sheep. They often met, and were fond of being together. Five years thus passed, when their sensations became more serious. Perrin proposed to Lucetta to demand her from her father: she blushed, and confessed her willingness. As she had an errand to town next day, the opportunity of her absence was chosen for making the proposal. You want to marry my daughter, said the old man. Have you a house to cover her, or money to maintain her? Lucetta's fortune is not enough for both. It won't do, Perrin, it won't do. But, replied Perrin, I have hands to work: I have laid up twenty crowns of my wages, which will defray the expence of the wedding: I'll work harder, and lay up more. Well, said the old man, you are young, and may wait a little: get rich, and my daughter is at your service. Perrin waited for Lucetta's returning in the evening. Has my father given you a refusal, cried Lucetta? Ah Lucetta, replied Perrin, how unhappy am I for being poor! but I have not lost all hopes: my circumstances may change for the better. As they never tired of conversing together, the night drew on, and it became dark. Perrin, making a false step, fell on the ground. He found a bag, which was heavy. Drawing toward a light in the neighborhood, he found that it was filled with gold. I thank heaven, cries Perrin, in a

transport, for being favorable to our wishes. This will satisfy your father, and make us happy. In their way to her father's house, a thought struck Perrin, " This money is not ours : it belongs to some stranger ; and perhaps this moment he is lamenting the loss of it. Let us go to the vicar for advice ; he has always been kind to me." Perrin put the bag into the vicar's hand, saying, that at first he looked on it as a providential present to remove the only obstacle to their marriage ; but that he now doubted whether he could lawfully retain it. The vicar eyed the lovers with attention. He admired their honesty, which appeared even to surpass their affection. Perrin, says he, cherish these sentiments: Heaven will bless you. We will endeavour to find out the owner : he will reward thy honesty : I will add what I can spare : you shall have Lucetta. The bag was advertised in the newspapers, and cried in the neighboring parishes. Some time having elapsed, and the money not demanded, the vicar carried it to Perrin. " These twelve thousand livres bear at present no profit : you may reap the interest at least. Lay them out in such a manner as to ensure the sum itself to the owner, if he shall appear." A farm was purchased, and the consent of Lucetta's father to the marriage was obtained. Perrin was employed in husbandry, and Lucetta in family-affairs. They lived in perfect cordiality ; and two children endeared them still more to each other. Perrin one evening returning homeward from his work, saw a chaise overturned, with two gentlemen in it. He ran to their assistance, and offered them every accommodation his small house could afford. This spot, cried one of the gentlemen, is very fatal to me. Ten years ago, I lost here twelve thousand livres. Perrin listened with attention. What search made you for them ? said he. It was not in my power, replied the stranger, to make any search. I was hurrying to Port l'Orient to embark for the Indies, for the vessel was ready to sail. Next morning, Perrin showed to his guests his house, his garden, his cattle, and

and mentioned the produce of his fields. " All these are your property," addressing the gentleman who had lost the bag ; " the money fell into my hands ; I purchased this farm with it ; the farm is your's. The vicar has an instrument which secures your property, though I had died without seeing you." The stranger read the instrument with emotion : He looked on Perrin, Lucetta, and the children. Where am I ? cried he, and what do I hear ? What virtue in people so low ! Have you any other land but this farm. No, replied Perrin ; but you will have occasion for a tenant, and I hope you will allow me to remain here. Your honesty deserves a better recompence, answered the stranger. My success in trade has been great, and I have forgot my loss. You are well entitled to this little fortune : keep it as your own. What man in the world would have acted like Perrin ? Perrin and Lucetta shed tears of affection and joy. " My dear children," said he, " kiss the hand of your benefactor. Lucetta this farm now belongs to us, and we can now enjoy it without anxiety or remorse." Thus was honesty rewarded. Let those who desire the reward practise it.

C H A P. XI.

CHARACTER of a young LADY.

SOPHIA is not a beauty, but in her presence beauties are discontented with themselves. At first she scarcely appeared pretty ; but the more she is beheld, the more agreeable she appears. She gains when others lose, and what she gains she never loses. She is equalled by none in a sweet expression of countenance : and without dazzling beholders, she interests them. She loves dress, and is a good judge of it ; despises finery, but dresses with peculiar grace, mixing simplicity with elegance. Ignorant she is of what colours are in fashion ; but knows well what suits her complexion. She covers her beauties ; but so slightly, or rather artfully, as to give

play to the imagination. She prepares herself for managing a family of her own, by managing that of her father. Cookery is familiar to her, with the price and quality of provisions ; and she is a ready accountant. Her chief view, however, is to serve her mother and lighten her cares. She holds cleanliness and neatness to be indispensable in a woman ; and that a flattery is disgusting, especially if beautiful.

The attention given to externals, does not make her overlook her more material duties. Sophia's understanding is solid, without being profound. Her sensibility is too great for a perfect equality of temper ; but her sweetness renders that inequality harmless. A harsh word does not make her angry ; but her heart swells, and she retires to disburden it by weeping. Recalled by her father and mother, she comes at the instant, wiping her eyes and appearing cheerful. She suffers with patience any wrong done her ; but is impatient to repair any wrong she has done, and does it so cordially as to make it appear meritorious. If she happen to disoblige a companion, her joy and her carefesses, when restored to favour, shew the burden that lay upon her good heart.

The love of virtue is Sophia's ruling passion. She loves it, because no other thing is so lovely : she loves it, because it is the glory of the female sex : she loves it as the only road to happiness, misery being the sure attendant of a woman without virtue : she loves it, as dear to her respectable father and tender mother. These sentiments inspire her with a degree of enthusiasm, that elevates her soul and subdues every irregular appetite.

Of the absent she never talks but with circumspection, her female acquaintance especially. She has remarked, that what renders woman prone to detraction, is talking of their own sex ; and that they are more equitable with respect to the men. Sophia therefore never talks of women, but to express the good she knows of them : of others she says nothing.

Without much knowledge of the world, she is attentive, obliging, and graceful in all she does. A good disposition,

position does more for her than much art does for others. She possesses a degree of politeness, which, void of ceremony, proceeds from a desire to please, and which consequently never fails to please.

C H A P. XII.

MODESTY, DOUBT, and TENDER AFFECTION.

AGATHOCLES and CALISTA.

CALISTA was young and beautiful, endowed with a great share of wit and solid sense. Agathocles, whose age very little exceeded her's, was well made, brave and prudent. He had the good fortune to be introduced to Calista's: where his looks, wandering indifferently over a numerous circle, soon distinguished and fixed upon her.

But recovering from the short extacy occasioned by the first sight, he immediately reproached himself, as being guilty of rudeness to the rest of the company; a fault which he had endeavoured to correct, by looking round on other objects. Vain attempts! They were attracted by a powerful charm, and turned again towards Calista. He blushed as well as she, while a sweet emotion, till then unfelt, produced a kind of fluttering in his heart, and confusion in his countenance.

They both became at the same time, more timid, and more curious. He was pleased with gazing at Calista; which he could not do without trembling; whilst Calista, secretly satisfied with this flattering preference, cast her eyes on him by stealth. They were both under an apprehension, but especially Calista, of being caught by the other in the fact; and yet caught they were almost every moment.

The hour of separation came, which to them appeared too sudden: melancholy were the reflections they made on the rapidity of time. Imagination, however, did not permit them to be entirely absent from each other: For the

the image of Calista was deeply engraved on the mind of Agathocles: And his features were as strongly impreffed on that of Calista. They both appeared less cheerful, the rest of the day. A lively sentiment, which they did not well comprehend themselves, entirely employed their minds, in spite of every attempt to divert themselves.

Two days passed without seeing one another again; and, tho' this interval of time had been filled up either by business or recreations; yet they both, notwithstanding, experienced a weariness and dissatisfaction in their minds, for which they could no way account. But the moment, which brought them together again, explained it to them: The perfect contentment they felt in each other's company, made them sensible of the real source of their melancholy.

Agathocles took more courage that day: He address'd Calista in a most obliging manner, and had the happiness to converse with her for the first time. As yet he had seen only her outward charms; but now he discovered the beauty of her mind, the integrity of her heart, the dignity of her sentiments, and the delicacy of her wit; but what charmed him the most, was the opinion he conceived that she did not judge him unworthy of her esteem.

From this time he made her frequent visits, in every one of which he discovered some new perfection in the fair Calista. This is the characteristic of true merit; it gains by being exposed to the eye of a judicious person. A man of sense will soon dislike a coquette, a fool, or a giddy woman: But if he fall in love with a woman of merit, time, far from weakening, will only strengthen and augment his passion.

The fixed inclination of Agathocles convinced him now, that what he felt for Calista, was love, and that of the most tender nature. This he knew; but Calista did not as yet know it, or at least had not learnt it from his lips. Love is timorous and diffident: A bold suitor is not the real lover of the lady whom he addresses;

addresses: he seeks for nothing but pleasure. Agathocles at last resolved to open his heart to Calista; but he did not do it in the affected language of a romantic passion. "Lovely Calista," said he ingenuously, "it is not mere esteem that binds me to you, but a most passionate and tender love. I feel that I cannot live without you: can you without violence to your inclinations, consent to make me happy? I may love you without offence; 'tis a tribute due to your merit: but may I flatter myself with the hopes of some small return?"

A coquette would have affected to be displeased at such a declaration. But Calista not only listened to her lover without interrupting him, but answered him without ill-nature, and gave him leave to hope. Nor did she put his constancy to a tedious trial: the happiness for which he sighed was no longer delayed than was necessary to prepare the ceremony. The marriage settlements were easily regulated betwixt the parties; for interest was out of the question: the chief article consisted in the mutual exchange of hearts; which was already fulfilled.

What will be the lot of the new-married couple? The happiest, I may venture to foretel, that mortals can enjoy upon earth. No pleasures are comparable to those that affect the heart; and there are none, as I have observed before, that affect it with such exquisite delight, as loving and being beloved. To this tender union we can never apply the words of Democrats, that *the pleasure of love is but a short epilepsy*. He meant, without doubt, that mere sensual pleasure, which has so little in it of the nature of love, that a man may enjoy it without loving, and love without ever enjoying it.

They will be constant in their love. This I dare also to predict; and I know the reason. Their affection is not founded on the dazzling charms of beauty; they are both the friends of virtue; they love each other on this account; they will, therefore, continue to love, as long as they are virtuous; and their union itself is a pledge of their perseverance; for nothing so much secures our continuance in the paths of virtue, as to have perpetually before our eyes the example of a person whom we love.

Nothing

Nothing is capable of disturbing their happiness, but those disasters and misfortunes from which their love cannot shelter them. But, supposing such a reverse of fortune, would not their fate in this respect be common with that of the rest of mankind? These who have never tasted the pleasures of love, are not exempt from the like casualties; and the lover is, at least, a gainer in regard to those pleasures, which constitute no small part of the happiness of life.

Besides, even love itself will greatly diminish the sense of their misfortunes. For love has the peculiar property of alleviating the sufferings of two fond hearts, and of rendering their pleasures more exquisite. By this communication of distress, they seem to divide its weight: and, on the contrary, by participation their satisfaction is doubled. As a squadron of horse is with greater difficulty broke thro' by the enemy, in proportion to its closeness: so the happy pair resist the attacks of adversity with so much the more strength and success, as they are more closely united.

C H A P. XIII.

SORROW, PIETY, DEVOTION, FILIAL OBEDIENCE.

Story of LA ROCHE.

MORE than forty years ago, an English philosopher, whose works have since been read and admired by all Europe, resided at a little town in France. Some disappointments in his native country had first driven him abroad, and he was afterwards induced to remain there, from having found, in his retreat, where the connections even of nation and language were avoided, a perfect seclusion and retirement, highly favourable to the developement of abstract subjects, in which he excelled all the writers of his time.

2. Perhaps in the structure of such a mind, the finer and more delicate sensibilities are seldom known to have place,

place, or, if originally implanted there, are in a great measure extinguished by the exertions of intense study and profound investigation. Hence the idea of philosophy and unfeelingness being united, has become proverbial, and in common language, the former word is often used to express the latter. Our philosopher has been censured by some, as deficient in warmth and feeling; but the mildness of his manners has been allowed by all; and it is certain that if he was not easily melted into compassion, it was, at least, not difficult to awaken his benevolence.

3. One morning, while he sat busied in those speculations which afterwards astonished the world, an old female domestic, who served him for a housekeeper, brought him word, that an elderly gentleman and his daughter had arrived in the village, the preceding evening, on their way to some distant country, and that the father had been suddenly seized in the night with a dangerous disorder, which the people of the inn, where they lodged, feared would prove mortal: That she had been sent for, as having some knowledge of medicine, the village surgeon being then absent; and that it was truly piteous to see the good old man, who seemed not so much affected by his own distress, as by that which it caused to his daughter.

4. Her master laid aside the volume in his hand, and broke off the chain of ideas it had inspired. His night-gown was exchanged for a coat, and he followed his governante to the sick man's apartment. It was the best in the little inn where they lay, but a paltry one notwithstanding. Our philosopher was obliged to stoop as he entered it. It was floored with earth, and above were the joists not plastered, and hung with cobwebs.

5. On a flock-bed, at one end, lay the old man whom he came to visit; at the foot of it sat his daughter. She was dressed in a clean white bed-gown; her dark locks hung loosely over it as she bent forward, watching the languid looks of her father. The philosopher and his house-keeper had stood some moments in the room with-

out the young lady's being sensible of their entering it.

6. Mademoiselle! said the old woman at last, in a soft tone. She turned, and showed one of the finest faces in the world. It was touched, not spoiled with sorrow; and when she perceived a stranger, whom the old woman now introduced to her, a blush at first, and then the gentle ceremonial of native politeness, which the affliction of the time tempered, but did not extinguish, crossed it for a moment, and changed its expression. It was sweetness all, however, and our philosopher felt it strongly.

7. It was not time for words; he offered his service in a few sincere ones. "Monsieur lies miserably ill here," said the gouvernante; if he could possibly be moved anywhere." "If he could be moved to our house," said her master. He had a spare bed for a friend, and there was a great room unoccupied next to the gouvernante's. It was contrived accordingly.

8. The scruples of the stranger, who could look scruples, tho' he could not speak them, were overcome, and the bashful reluctance of his daughter gave way to her belief of its use to her father. The sick man was wrapt in blankets and carried across the street to the English gentleman's. The old woman helped the daughter to nurse him there. The surgeon, who arrived soon after, prescribed a little, and nature did much for him; in a week he was able to thank his benefactor.

9. By that time his host had learned the name and character of his guest. He was a Protestant and clergyman of Switzerland, called *La Roche*, a widower, who had lately buried his wife, after a long and lingering illness, for which travelling had been prescribed; and was now returning home after an ineffectual journey, with his only child, the daughter we have mentioned.

10. He was a devout man as became his profession. He possessed devotion in all its warmth, but with none of its asperity; I mean that asperity which men, who are called devout, sometimes indulge. The philosopher, tho' he felt no devotion, never quarrelled with it in others. His gouvernante joined the old man and his

daughter,

daughter, in the prayers and thanksgiving which they put up on his recovery; for she too was a heretic, in the phrase of the village.

11. The philosopher walked out with his long staff and his dog, and left them to their prayers and thanksgivings. "My master," said the old woman, "alas! he is not a Christian, but he is the best of unbelievers."—Not a Christian! exclaimed Mademoiselle *La Roche*, "yet he saved my father! Heaven bless him for it; I would he were a Christian."

12. "There is a pride in human knowledge, my child," said her father, "which often blinds men to the sublime truths of revelation; hence there are opposers of Christianity among men of virtuous lives, as well as among those of dissipated and licentious characters. Nay, sometimes I have known the latter more easily converted to the true faith than the former, because the fume of passion is more easily dissipated than the mist of false theory and delusive speculation." "But this philosopher" said his daughter, "alas! my father, he shall be a Christian before he dies."

13. She was interrupted by the arrival of their landlord—He took her hand with an air of kindness—She drew it away from him in silence; threw down her eyes to the ground and left the room. "I have been thanking God," said the good *La Roche*, "for my recovery." "That is right," replied his landlord. "I should not wish," continued the old man, hesitatingly, "to think otherwise; did I not look up with gratitude to that Being, I should barely be satisfied with my recovery, as a continuation of life, which, it may be, is not a real good. Alas! I may live to wish I had died, that you had left me to die, Sir, instead of kindly relieving me (he clasped the philosopher's hand); but when I look on this renovated being as the gift of the Almighty, I feel a far different sentiment—my heart dilates with gratitude and love to him; it is prepared for doing his will, not as a duty, but as a pleasure, and regards every breach of it, not with disapprobation, but with horror."

14. " You say right, my dear Sir," replied the philosopher; " but you are not yet re-established enough to talk much—you must take care of your health, and neither study nor preach for some time. I have been thinking over a scheme that struck me to day, when you mentioned your intended departure. I was never in Switzerland; I have a great mind to accompany your daughter and you into that country. I will help to take care of you by the road; for, as I was your first physician, I hold myself responsible for your cure."

15. *La Roche's* eyes glistened at the proposal; his daughter was called and told of it. She was equally pleased with her father; for they really loved their landlord—not perhaps the less for his infidelity; at least that circumstance mixed a sort of pity with their regard for him—their souls were not of a mould for harsher feelings—hated never dwelt with them.

16. They travelled by short stages; for the philosopher was as good as his word, in taking care that the old man should not be fatigued. The parties had time to be well acquainted with one another, and their friendship was increased by acquaintance. *La Roche* found a degree of simplicity and gentleness in his companion, which is not always annexed to the character of a learned or a wise man.

17. His daughter, who was prepared to be afraid of him, was equally undeceived. She found in him nothing of that self-importance which superior parts, or great cultivation of them is apt to confer. He talked of every thing but philosophy and religion; he seemed to enjoy every pleasure and amusement of ordinary life, and to be interested in the most common topics of discourse; when his knowledge or learning at any time appeared, it was delivered with the utmost plainness, and without the least show of dogmatism.

18. On his part, he was charmed with the society of the good clergyman and his lovely daughter. He found in them the guiltless manner of the earliest times, with the

the culture and accomplishments of the most refined ones. Every better feeling, warm and vivid; every ungentle one, repressed or overcome. He was not addicted to love; but he felt himself happy, in being the friend of *Mademoiselle La Roche*, and sometimes envied her father the possession of such a child.

19. After a journey of eleven days, they arrived at the dwellings of *La Roche*. It was situated in one of these vallies in the canton of Berne, where nature seems to repose in quiet, and has enclosed her retreat with mountains inaccessible. A stream that spent its fury in the hills above, ran in front of the house, and a broken water-fall was seen through the woods that covered its sides; below, it circled round a tufted plain, and formed a little lake in front of a village, at the end of which appeared the spire of *La Roche's* church, rising above a clump of beeches.

20. The philosopher enjoyed the beauty of the scene; but to his companions it recalled the memory of a wife and parent they had lost. The old man's sorrow was silent; his daughter sobb'd and wept. Her father took her hand, kissed it twice, pressed it to his bosom, threw up his eyes to heaven; and having wiped off a tear that was just about to drop from each, began to point out to his guest some of the most striking objects which the prospect afforded. The philosopher interpreted all this; and he could but slightly censure the creed from which it arose.

21. They had not been long arrived, when a number of *La Roche's* parishioners, who had heard of his return, came to the house to see and welcome him. The honest folks were awkward, but sincere, in their professions of friendship. They made some attempts at condolence; it was too delicate for their handling; but *La Roche* took it in good part. "It has pleased God;" said he; and they saw he had settled the matter with himself. Philosophy could not have done so much with a thousand words.

22. It was now evening, and the good peasants were about

about to depart, when a clock was heard to strick seven, and the hour was followed by a particular chime. The country folks who came to welcome their pastor, turned their looks towards him at the sound; he explained their meaning to his guest. "That is the signal," said he, "for our evening exercise; this is one of the nights of the week in which some of my parishioners are wont to join in it; a little rustic saloon serves for the chapel of our family, and such of the good people as are with us; if you choose rather to walk out, I will furnish you with an attendant; or here are a few old books which may afford you some entertainment within."

23. "By no means," answered the philosopher; "I will attend Mademoiselle at her devotions." "She is our organist," said *La Roche*; "our neighborhood is the country of musical mechanism, and I have a small organ, fitted up for the purpose of assisting our singing." "'Tis an additional inducement," replied the other, and they walked into the room together.

24. At the end stood the organ mentioned by *La Roche*; before it was a curtain, which his daughter drew aside, and placing herself on a seat within, and drawing the curtain close, so as to save her the awkwardness of an exhibition, began a voluntary, solemn and beautiful in the highest degree. The philosopher was no musician, but he was not altogether insensible to music; this fastened on his mind more strongly, from its beauty being unexpected.

25. The solemn prelude introduced a hymn, in which such of the audience as could sing immediately joined: the words were mostly taken from holy writ; it spoke the praises of God, and his care of good men. Something was said of the death of the just; of such as die in the Lord. The organ was touched with a hand less firm;—it paused;—it ceased;—and the sobbing of Mademoiselle was heard in its stead.

26. Her father gave a sign for stopping the psalmody, and rose to prayer. He was discomposed at first, and his voice faltered as he spoke; but his heart was in his words, and

and its warmth overcame his embarrassment. He addressed a Being whom he loved, and he spoke for those he loved. His parishioners catched the ardour of the good old man ; even the philosopher felt himself moved, and forgat, for a moment, to think why he should not.

— 27. *La Roche's* religion was that of sentiment, not theory, and his guest was averse from disputation ; their discourse did not therefore lead to questions concerning the belief of either : yet would the old man sometimes speak of his, from the feelings of a heart impressed with its force, and wishing to spread the pleasure he enjoyed in it. The ideas of his God and his Saviour were so congenial to his mind, that every emotion of it naturally awakened them. A philosopher might have called him an enthusiast ; but if he possessed the fervor of enthusiasts, he was guiltless of their bigotry. “ Our Father who art in heaven ! ” might the good old man say—for he felt it—and all mankind were his brethren.

28. “ You regret, my friend,” said he to the philosopher, “ when my daughter and I talk of the exquisite pleasure derived from music ; you regret your want of musical powers and musical feelings ; it is a department of soul, you say, which nature has almost denied you, which, from the effects you see it have on others, you are sure must be highly delightful. Why should not the same thing be said of religion ? Trust me, I feel it in the same way, an energy, an inspiration, which I would not loose for all the blessings of sense, or enjoyments of the world ; yet so far from lessening my relish of the pleasures of life, that I feel it heightens them all.

29. “ The thought of receiving it from God, adds the blessing of sentiment to that of sensation in every good thing which I possess ; and when calamities overtake me, and I have had my share, it confers such a dignity on my affliction, and so lifts me above the world. Man, I know is but a worm, yet methinks I am allied to God ! ” It would have been inhuman in our philosopher to cloud, even with a doubt, the sunshine of his belief.

30. His discourse, indeed, was very remote from metaphysical

taphysical disquisition or religious controversy. Of all men I ever knew, his ordinary conversation was the least tinctured with pedantry, or liable to dissertation. With *La Roche* and his daughter, it was perfectly familiar.

31. The country round them, the manners of the village, the comparison of both with those of England, remarks on the works of favorite authors, on the sentimens they conveyed and the passions they excited, with many other topics in which there was an equality, or alternate advantage, among the speakers, were the subjects they talked on.

32. Their hours too of riding and walking were many, in which the philosopher, as a stranger, was shown the remarkable scenes and curiosities of the country. They would sometimes make little expeditions to contemplate, in different attitudes, those astonishing mountains, the cliffs of which, covered with eternal snows, and sometimes shooting into fantic shapes, form the termination of most of the Swiss prospects.

33. Our philosopher asked many questions, as to their natural history and productions. *La Rache* observed the sublimity of the ideas which the view of their stupendous summits, inaccessible to mortal foot, was calculated to inspire, which, said he, naturally leads the mind to that Being by whom their foundations were laid.—“They are not seen in Flanders !” said Mademoiselle with a sigh. “That is an odd remark,” said the philosopher, smiling.—She blushed and he enquired no farther.*

34. It was with regret he left a society in which he found himself so happy; but he settled with *La Rache* and his daughter a plan of correspondence: and they took his promise, that, if ever he came within fifty leagues of their dwelling, he would travel those fifty leagues to visit them.

35. About

* The philosopher was a resident in Flanders and a sceptic. This reproof of his infidelity is inimitably delicate. In short this whole story is a beautiful satire on deism, bigotry, and metaphysical theology, while it paints unaffected virtue, benevolence, and piety in the most engaging colours.

35. About three years after, our philosopher was on a visit at Geneva; the promise he made to *La Roche* and his daughter, on his former visit, was recalled to his mind, by the view of that range of mountains, on a part of which they had often looked together. Their was a reproach too, conveyed along with the recollection, for his having failed to write to either of them for several months past. The truth was, that indolence was the habit most natural to him, from which he was not easily roused by the claims of correspondence, either of his friends or his enemies; when the latter drew their pens in controversy, they were often answered as well as the former.

36. While he was hesitating about a visit to *La Roche*, which he wished to make, but found the effort rather too much for him, he received a letter from the old man, which had been forwarded to him from Paris, where he had then fixed his residence. It contained a gentle complaint of the philosopher's want of punctuality, but an assurance of continued gratitude for his former good offices, and, as a friend whom the writer considered interested in his family, it informed him of the approaching nuptials of Mademoiselle *La Roche*, with a young man, a relation of her own and formerly a pupil of her father's, of the most noble disposition and respectable character.

37. Attached from their earliest years, they had been separated by his joining one of the subsidiary regiments of the Canton, then in the service of a foreign power. In this situation, he had distinguished himself as much for courage and military skill, as for the other endowments which he had cultivated at home. The term of his service was now expired, and they expected him to return in a few weeks, when the old man hoped, as he expressed it in his letter, to join their hands and see them happy.

38. Our philosopher felt himself interested in this event; but he was not, perhaps, altogether so happy in the tidings of Mademoiselle *La Roche*'s marriage, as her father supposed him. Not that he ever was a lover of the

the lady ; but he thought her one of the most amiable women he had seen, and there was something in the idea of her being another's for ever, that struck him, he knew not why, like a disappointment. After some little speculation on the matter, however, he could look on it as a thing fitting, if not quite agreeable; and determined on his visit to see his old friend and his daughter happy.

39. On the last day of his journey, different accidents had retarded his progress ; he was benighted before he reached the quarter in which *La Roche* resided. His guide however, was well acquainted with the road and he found himself in view of the lake, which I have before described, in the neighborhood of *La Roche*'s dwelling. A light gleamed on the water, that seemed to proceed from the house ; it moved slowly along as he proceeded up the side of the lake, and at last he saw it glimmering through the trees, and stop at some distance from the place where he then was.

40. He supposed it some piece of bridal merriment, and pushed on his horse that he might be a spectator of the scene ; but he was a good deal shocked, on approaching the spot, to find it to be the torch of a person clothed in the dress of an attendant on a funeral, and accompanied by several others, who like him, seemed to have been employed in the rites of sepulture.

41. On the philosopher's making enquiry who was the person they had been burying ? one of them with an accent more mournful than is common to their profession, answered, " Then you knew not Mademoiselle, Sir ! you never beheld a lovelier. " *La Roche !*" exclaimed he in reply—" alas, it was she indeed ! " The appearance of grief and surprise which his countenance assumed, attracted the notice of the peasant with whom he talked.

42. He came up close to the philosopher—" I perceive, you are acquainted with Mademoiselle *La Roche*." " Acquainted with her ! Good God ! when—how—where did she die ? Where is her father." " She died, Sir, of heart-break, I believe ; the young gentleman to whom she was soon to be married, was killed in a duel

by

by a French officer, his intimate companion, and to whom, before their quarrel, they had often done the greatest favours."

43. "Her worthy father bears her death, as he has often told us a Christian should; he is even so composed as to be now in his pulpit, ready to deliver a few exhortations to his parishioners, as is the custom with us on such occasions. Follow me, Sir, and you shall hear him." He followed the man without answering.

44. The Church was dimly lighted, except near the pulpit, where the venerable *La Roche* was seated. His people were now lifting up their voices to that Being whom their pastor had taught them ever to bless and revere. *La Roche* sat, his figure bending gently forward his eyes half-closed, lifted up in silent devotion. A lamp placed near him, threw a light strongly on his head, and marked the shadowy lines of his age across the pale-nels of his brow, thinly covered with grey hairs.

45. The music ceased,—*La Roche* sat for a moment, and nature wrung a few tears from him. His people were loud in their grief. The philosopher was not less affected than they. *La Roche* arose. "Father of mercies," said he, "forgive thee tears; assist thy servant to lift up his soul to thee; to lift to thee the souls of thy people! My friends! it is good so to do; at all seasons it is good; but in the days of our distress, what a privilege it is! Well saith the sacred book, "Trust in the Lord; at all times trust in the Lord." When every other support fails us, when the fountains of worldly comfort are dried up, let us then seek those living waters which flow from the throne of God. It is only from the belief of the goodness and wisdom of a supreme Being, that our calamities can be borne in the manner which becomes a man."

46. "Human wisdom is here of little use; for in proportion as it bestows comfort, it represses feeling, without which we may cease to be hurt by calamity, but we shall also cease to enjoy happiness. I will not bid you be insensible, my friends! I cannot, I cannot, if I could
(his

(his tears flowed afresh) I feel too much myself, and I am not ashamed of my feelings ; but therefore, may I the more willingly be heard ; therefore have I prayed God to give me strength to speak to you ; to direct you to him, not with empty words, but with these tears ; not from speculation, but from experience,—that while you see me suffer, you may know also my consolation."

47. " You behold the mourner of his only child, the last earthly stay and blessing of his declining years ! Such a child too ! it becomes not me to speak of her virtues ; yet it is but grateful to mention them, because they were exerted towards myself. Not many days ago you saw her young, beautiful, virtuous, and happy ; ye who are parents will judge of my affliction now. But I look towards him who struck me ; I see the hand of a father amidst the chastenings of my God."

48. " Oh ! could I make you feel what it is to pour out the heart when it is pressed down with many sorrows, to pour it out with confidence to him, in whose hands are life and death, on whose power awaits all that the first enjoys, and in contemplation of whom disappears all that the last can inflict ! For we are not as those who die without hope ; we know that our Redeemer liveth,—that we shall live with him, with our friends his servants, in that blessed land where sorrow is unknown, and happiness as endless as it is perfect."

49. " Go then, mourn not for me ; I have not lost my child : but a little while and we shall meet again, never to be separated. But ye are also my children : Would ye that I should not grieve without comfort ? So live as she lived ; that when your death shall come, it may be the death of the righteous, and your latter end like his."

50. Such was the exhortation of *La Roche* ; his audience answered it with tears. The good old man had dried up his at the altar of the Lord ; his countenance had lost its sadness and assumed the glow of faith and hope. The philosopher followed him into his house. The inspiration of the pulpit was past ; the scenes they had

had last met in, rushed again on his mind; *La Roche* threw his arms around his neck, and watered it with his tears. The other was equally affected; they went together in silence into the parlour, where the evening service was wont to be performed.

51. The curtains of the organ were open; *La Roche* started back at the sight.—“Oh my friend,” said he, and his tears burst forth again. The philosopher had now recollected himself; he stept forward and drew the curtain close—the old man wiped off his tears and taking his friend by the hand, “You see my weakness,” said he, “’tis the weakness of humanity; but my comfort is not therefore lost.” “I heard you,” said the other, “in the pulpit; I rejoice that such consolation is yours.” “It is my friend,” said he, “and I trust I shall ever hold it fast; if there are any who doubt our faith, let him think of what importance religion is to calamity, and forbear to weaken its force; if they cannot restore our happiness, let them not take away the solace of our affliction.”

52. The philosopher’s heart was smitten: and I have heard him, long after, confess, that there were moments when the remembrance overcame him even to weakness; when, amidst all the pleasures of philosophical discovery, and the pride of literary fame, he called to his mind the venerable figure of the good *La Roche*, and wished that he had never doubted.

C H A P. XIV.

INNOCENT SIMPLICITY BETRAYED.

Story of Sir EDWARD and LOUISA.

IF we examine impartially that estimate of pleasure, which the higher ranks of society are apt to form, we shall probably be surprized to find how little there is in it, either of natural feeling, or real satisfaction. Many a fashionable voluptuary, who has not totally blunted his taste or his judgement, will own, in the intervals of

recollection, how often he has suffered from the insipidity or the pain of his enjoyments; and that, if it were not for the fear of being laughed at, it would sometimes be worth while, even on the score of pleasure, to be virtuous.

2. Sir *Edward*, to whom I had the pleasure of being introduced at Florence, was a character much beyond that which distinguishes the generality of English travellers of fortune.

His story was known to some of his countrymen who then resided in Italy; from one of whom, who could now and then talk of something besides pictures and operas, I had a particular recital of it.

3. He had been first abroad at an early period of life, soon after the death of his father, had left him master of a very large estate, which he had the good fortune to inherit, and all the inclination natural to youth to enjoy. Though always sumptuous, however, and sometimes profuse, he was observed never to be ridiculous in his expences; and though he was now and then talked of as a man of pleasure and dissipation, he always left behind him more instances of beneficence, than of irregularity.

4. For that respect and esteem in which his character, amidst all his little errors, was generally held, he was supposed a good deal indebted to the society of a gentleman who had been his companion at the university, and now attended him rather as a friend than a tutor. This gentleman was unfortunately seized at Marseilles with a lingering disorder, for which he was under the necessity of taking a sea-voyage, leaving Sir *Edward* to prosecute the remaining part of his intended tour alone.

5. Descending into one of the valleys of Piedmont, where, notwithstanding the ruggedness of the road, Sir *Edward*, with a prejudice natural to his country, preferred the conveyance of an English hunter, to that of an Italian mule, his horse unluckily made a false step, and fell with his rider to the ground, from which Sir *Edward* was lifted by his servants with scarce any signs of life.

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They conveyed him on a litter to the nearest house, which happened to be the dwelling of a peasant rather above the common rank, before whose door some of his neighbors were assembled at a scene of rural merriment, when the train of Sir *Edward* brought up their master, in the condition I have described.

6. The compassion, natural to his situation, was excited in all; but the owner of the mansion, whose name was *Venoni*, was particularly moved with it. He applied himself immediately to the care of the stranger, and with the assistance of his daughter, who had left the dance she was engaged in, with great marks of agitation, soon restored Sir *Edward* to sense and life.

7. *Venoni* possessed some little skill in surgery, and his daughter produced a book of receipts in medicine. Sir *Edward*, after being blooded, was put to bed and tended with very possible care by his host and his family. A considerable degree of fever was the consequence of his accident; but after some days it abated: and in little more than a week, he was able to join in the society of *Venoni* and his daughter.

8. He could not help expressing some surprise at the appearance of refinement in the conversation of the latter, much beyond what her situation seemed likely to confer. Her father accounted for it. She had received her education in the house of a lady, who happened to pass through the valley, and to take shelter in *Venoni's* cottage, (for his house was but a better sort of cottage) the night after her birth.

9. "When her mother died," said he, "the Signora, whose name, at her desire, we had given the child, took her home to her own house; there she was taught many things of which there is no need here; yet she is not so proud of her learning as to wish to leave her father in his old age; and I hope soon to have her settled near me for life."

10. But Sir *Edward* had now an opportunity of knowing *Louisa* better than from the description of her father. Music and painting, in both which arts she was tolerably proficient,

proficient, Sir *Edward* had studied with success. *Louisa* felt a sort of pleasure from her drawings, which they had never given her before, when they were praised by Sir *Edward*; and the family concerts of *Venoni* were very different from what they had formerly been, when once his guest was so far recovered as to be able to join in them. The flute of *Venoni* excelled all the other music of the valley; his daughter's lute was much beyond it; Sir *Edward's* violin was finer than either.

11. But his conversation with *Louisa*—It was that of a superior order beings! science, taste, sentiment! it was long since *Louisa* had heard these sounds; amidst the ignorance of the valley, it was luxury to hear them; from Sir *Edward*, who was one of the most engaging figures I ever saw, they were doubly delightful. In his countenance there was always an expression animated and interesting; his sickness had overcome somewhat of the first, but greatly added to the power of the latter.

12. *Louisa's* was no less captivating, and Sir *Edward* had not seen it so long without emotion. During his illness, he thought this emotion but gratitude; and, when it first grew warmer, he checked it, from the thought of her situation and of the debt he owed her. But the struggle was too ineffectual to overcome, and of consequence increased his passion.

13. There was but one way in which the pride of Sir *Edward* allowed of its being gratified. He sometimes thought of this as base and unworthy; but he was the fool of words which he had often despised, the slave of manners which he had often condemned. He at last compromised matters with himself; he resolved, if he could, to think no more of *Louisa*: at any rate, to think no more of the ties of gratitude or the restraints of virtue.

14. *Louisa*, who trusted to both, now communicated to Sir *Edward* an important secret. It was at the close of a piece of music, which they had been playing in the absence of her father. She took up her lute and touched a little wild melancholy air, which she had composed

to the memory of her mother. "That," said she, "nobody ever heard except my father; I play it sometimes when I am alone and in low spirits. I know not how I came to think of it now; yet I have some reason to be sad."

15. Sir *Edward* pressed to know the cause; after some hesitation she told it all. Her father had fixed on the son of a neighbor, rich in possessions, but rude in manners, for her husband. Against this match she had always protested as strongly, as a sense of duty and the mildness of her nature would allow; but *Venoni* was obstinately bent on the match, and she was wretched from the thoughts of it. "To marry where one cannot love,—to marry such a man, Sir *Edward*!" It was an opportunity beyond his power of resistance. Sir *Edward* pressed her hand; said it would be profanation to think of such a marriage; praised her beauty, extolled her virtues; and concluded by swearing that he adored her.

16. She heard him with unsuspecting pleasure, which her blushes could ill conceal. Sir *Edward* improved the favourable moment; talked of the ardency of his passion, the insignificancy of ceremonies and forms, the inefficacy of legal engagements, the eternal duration of those dictated by love; and in fine, urged her going off with him, to crown both their days with happiness. *Louisa* started at the proposal. She would have reproached him, but her heart was not made for it; she could only weep.

17. They were interrupted by the arrival of her father with his intended son-in-law. He was just such a man as *Louisa* had represented him, coarse, vulgar and ignorant. But *Venoni*, tho' much above their neighbour in every thing but riches, looked on him as poorer men often look on the wealthy, and discovered none of his imperfections. He took his daughter aside, told her he had brought her future husband, and that he intended they shoud be married in a week at farthest.

18. Next morning *Louisa* was indisposed, and kept her chamber. Sir *Edward* was now perfectly recovered.

He was engaged to go out with *Venoni*; but before his departure, he took up his violin and touched a few plaintive notes on it. They were heard by *Louisa*.

19. In the evening she wandered forth to indulge her sorrows alone. She had reached a sequestered spot, where some poplars formed a thicket, on the banks of a little stream that watered the valley. A nightingale was perched on one of them and had already begun its accustomed song. *Louisa* sat down on a withered stump, leaning her cheek upon her hand.

20. After a little while, the bird was scared from its perch, and flitted from the thicket. *Louisa* rose from the ground and burst into tears! She turned, and beheld Sir *Edward*. His countenance had much of its former langor; and when he took her hand, he cast on the earth a melancholy look and seemed unable to speak his feelings.

21. "Are you not well, Sir *Edward*?" said *Louisa*, with a voice faint and broken. "I am ill indeed," said he, "but my illness is of the mind. *Louisa* cannot cure me of that. I am wretched; but I deserve to be so. I have broken every law of hospitality and every obligation of gratitude. I have dared to wish for happiness and to speak what I wished, though it wounded the heart of my dearest benefactor—but I will make a severe expiation.

22. "This moment I leave you, *Louisa*! I go to be wretched; but you may be happy; happy in your duty to a father; happy, it may be, in the arms of a husband, whom the possession of such a wife may teach refinement and sensibility. I go to my native country, to hurry through scenes of irksome business or tasteless amusements; that I may, if possible, procure a sort of half-oblivion of that happiness which I left behind, a listless endurance of that life which I once dreamed might be made delightful with *Louisa*."

23. Tears were the only answer she could give. Sir *Edward's* servants appeared, with a carriage, ready for his departure. He took from his pocket two pictures; one

one he had drawn of *Louisa*, he fastened it round his neck, and kissing it with rapture, hid it in his bosom. This other he held out in a hesitating manner. "This," said he, "if *Louisa* will accept of it, may sometimes put her in mind of him who once offended, who can never cease to adore her. She may look on it, perhaps, after the original is no more; when this heart shall have forgot to love, and cease to be wretched."

24. *Louisa* was at last overcome. Her face was first pale as death; then suddenly, it was crossed with a crimson blush. "Oh! Sir *Edward*!" said she, "what—what would you have me do!" He eagerly seized her hand and led her, reluctant, to the carriage. They entered it and driving off with furious speed, were soon out of sight of those hills which pastured the flocks of the unfortunate *Venoni*.

25. The virtue of *Louisa* was vanquished; but her sense of virtue was not overcome. Neither the vows of eternal fidelity of her seducer, nor the constant and respectful attention, which he paid her, during a hurried journey to England, could allay that anguish which she suffered at the recollection of her past, and the thoughts of her present situation. Sir *Edward* felt strongly the power of her beauty and of her grief. His heart was not made for that part which, it is probable, he thought it could have performed; it was still subject to remorse, to compassion, and to love.

26. These emotions perhaps, he might soon have overcome, had they been met by vulgar violence or reproaches; but the quiet and upbraiding sorrows of *Louisa* nourished those feelings of tenderness and attachment. She never mentioned her wrongs in words; sometimes a few starting tears would speak them; and when time had given her a little more composure, her lute discoursed melancholy music.

27. On their arrival in England, Sir *Edward* carried *Louisa* to his seat in the country. There she was treated with all the observance of a wife; and, had she chosen it, might have commanded more than the ordinary splendor

splendor of one. But she would not allow the indulgence of Sir *Edward* to blazon with equipage and show, that state which she wished always to hide, and, if possible, to forget. Her books and her music were her only pleasures ; if pleasures they could be called, that served but to alleviate misery, and, to blunt, for a while, the pangs of contrition.

28. These were deeply aggravated by the recollection of her father ; a father left in his age to feel his own misfortunes and his daughter's disgrace. Sir *Edward* was too generous not to think of providing for *Venoni*. He meant to make some atonement for the injury he had done him, by that cruel bounty which is reparation only to the base, but to the honest, is insult. He had not however, an opportunity of accomplishing his purpose.

29. He learned that *Venoni*, soon after his daughter's elopement, removed from his former place of residence, and as his neighbors had reported, had died in one of the villages of Savoy. His daughter felt this with anguish the most poignant, and her afflictions, for a while, refused consolation. Sir *Edward*'s whole tenderness and attention were called forth to mitigate her grief ; and after its first transports had subsided, he carried her to London, in hopes that objects new to her, and commonly attractive to all, might contribute to remove it.

30. With a man possessed of feelings like Sir *Edward*'s, the affliction of *Louisa* gave a certain respect to his attentions. He hired her a house separate from his own, and treated her with all the delicacy of the purest attachment. But his solicitude to comfort and assuage her was not attended with success. She felt all the horrors of that guilt, which she now considered as not only the ruin of herself, but the murderer of her father.

31. In London Sir *Edward* found his sister, who had married a man of great fortune and high fashion. He had married her, because she was a fine woman, and admired by fine men : she had married him, because he was the wealthiest of her suitors. They lived, as is common to people in such a situation, necessitous with a

princely

princely revenue, and very wretched amidst perpetual gaiety.

32. This scene was so foreign from the idea Sir *Edward* had formed of the reception which his country and his friends were to afford him, that he found a constant source of disgust in the society of his equals. In their conversation fantastic, not refined, their ideas were frivolous, and their knowledge shallow; and with all the pride of birth and insolence of station, their principles were mean and their minds ignoble. In their pretended attachments, he discovered only signs of selfishness; and their pleasures, he experienced, were as fallacious as their friendships.

33. In the society of *Louisa* he found sensibility and truth; hers was the only heart that seemed interested in his welfare: she saw the return of virtue in Sir *Edward*, and felt the friendship which he shewed her. Sometimes, when she perceived him sorrowful, her lute would leave its melancholy for more lively airs, and her countenance assumed a gaiety it was not formed to wear. But her heart was breaking with that anguish which her generosity endeavoured to conceal from him; her frame, too delicate for the struggle of her feelings, seemed to yield to their force; the colour faded in her cheek, the lustre of her eyes grew dim.

34. Sir *Edward* saw these symptoms of decay with the deepest remorse. Often did he curse those false ideas of pleasure, which had led him to consider the ruin of an artless girl, who loved and trusted him, as an object which it was luxury to attain. Often did he wish to blot out from his life a few guilty months, to be again restored to an opportunity of giving happiness to that family, whose unsuspecting kindness he had repaid with the treachery of a robber, and the cruelty of an assassin.

35. One evening, while he sat in a little parlor with *Louisa*, his mind alternately agitated and softened with this impression, a hand-organ of a remarkable sweet tone, was heard in the street; *Louisa* laid aside her lute and listened: the airs it played were those of her native country,

country; and a few tears, which she endeavored to hide, stole from her on hearing them. Sir *Edward* ordered a servant to fetch the organist into the room: he was brought in accordingly, and seated at the door of the apartment.

36. He played one or two sprightly tunes, to which *Louisa* had often danced in her infancy: she gave herself up to the recollection, and her tears flowed without control. Suddenly the musician changing the stop, introduced a little melancholy air of a wild and plaintive kind. *Louisa* started from her seat and rushed up to the stranger.—He threw off a tattered and black patch. It was her father! she would have sprung to embrace him; he turned aside for a few moments, and would not receive her into his arms. But nature at last overcame his resentment; he burst into tears, and pressed to his bosom his long-lost daughter.

37. Sir *Edward* stood fixed in astonishment and confusion.—“ I came not to upbraid you,” said *Venoni*; “ I am a poor, weak, old man, unable for upbraiding; I am come but to find my child, to forgive her, and to die! When you saw us first, Sir *Edward*, we were not thus. You found us virtuous and happy; we danced and we sung, and there was not a sad heart in the valley where we dwelt. Yet we left our dancing, our songs and our cheerfulness; you were distressed and we pitied you.”

38. “ Since that day the pipe has never been heard in *Venoni*’s fields; grief and sickness have brought him almost to the grave; and his neighbors who loved and pitied him, have been cheerful no more. Yet methinks though you robbed us of happiness, you are not happy;—else why that dejected look, which amidst all the grandeur around you, I saw you wear, and those tears which under all the gaudiness of her apparel, I saw that poor deluded girl shed?”

39. “ But she shall shed no more,” cried Sir *Edward*; “ you shall be happy, and I will be just. Forgive my venerable friend, the injuries I have done you; forgive me, my *Louisa*, for rating your excellence at a price so mean.

mean. I have seen those high-born females to which my rank might have allied me; I am ashamed of their vices and sick of their follies. Profligate in their hearts amidst affected purity, they are slaves to pleasure, without the sincerity of passion; and, with the name of honor, are insensible to the feelings of virtue."

40. " You, my *Louisa*!—but I will not call up recollections that might render me less worthy of your future esteem—Continue to love your *Edward*; but a few hours and you shall add the *title* to the *affections* of a wife; let the care and tenderness of a husband bring back its peace to your mind, and its bloom to your cheek. We will leave for a while the wonder and envy of the fashionable circle here. We will restore your father to his native home; under that roof I shall once more be happy; happy without alloy, because I shall deserve my happiness. Again shall the pipe and the dance gladden the valley, and innocence and peace beam on the cottage of *Venoni*!"

C H A P XV.

EMILIUS, or Domestic Happiness.

TH E government of a family depends on such various and opposite principles, that it is a matter of extreme delicacy. Perhaps there is no situation in life in which it is so difficult to behave with propriety, as in the contest between *parental authority* and *parental love*. This is undoubtedly the reason why we see so few happy families. Few parents are both loved and respected, because most of them are either the dupes or the tyrants of their children.

2. Some parents, either from a natural weakness of mind, or an excess of fondness, permit and even encourage their children in a thousand familiarities, which render them ridiculous, and by diminishing the respect which is due to their age and station, destroy all their authority. Others, ruled by a partial and blind affection,

which

which can deny nothing to its object, indulge their children in all their romantic wishes, however trifling and foolish; however degrading to their dignity or injurious to their welfare. Others soured by misfortunes, or grown peevish and jealous by the loss of youthful pleasures, and an acquaintance with the deceit and folly of the world, attempt to re-train the ideas and enjoyments of youth by the rigid maxims of age.

3. The children of the first class often offend by silly manners and a kind of good-natured disrespect. Those of the second are generally proud, whimsical and vicious. Those of the third, if they are subdued, when young, by the rigor of parental discipline, forever remain morose illiberal and unsociable; or if, as it commonly happens, they find means to escape from restraint, they abandon themselves to every species of licentiousness. To parents of these descriptions may be added another class, whose fondness blinds their eyes to the most glaring vices of their children; or invents such palliations as to prevent the most salutary corrections.

4. The taste for amusements in young people is, of all others, the most difficult to regulate by the maxims of prudence. In this article, parents are apt to err, either by extreme indulgence on one hand, or immoderate rigor on the other. Recollecting the feelings of their youth, they give unbounded licence to the inclinations of their children; or having lost all relish for amusements, they refuse to gratify their most moderate desires.

5. It is a maxim which universally holds true, that the best method of guarding youth from *criminal* pleasures, is to indulge them freely in those that are *innocent*. A person who has free access to reputable society, will have little inclination to frequent that which is vicious. But those, who are kept under constant restraint, who are seldom in amusements, who are perpetually awed by the frowns of a parent, or soured by a disappointment of their most harmless wishes, will at times break over all bounds to gratify their taste for pleasure, and will not be anxious to discriminate between the innocent and the criminal.

6. Nothing contributes more to keep youth within the limits of decorum, than to have theirs uperiors mingle in their company, at proper times, and participate of their amusements. This condescension flatters their pride ; at the same time, that respect for age, which no familiarities can wholly efface, naturally checks the extravagant fallies of mirth, and the indelicate rudenesses which young people are apt to indulge in their jovial hours.

7. That awful distance at which some parents keep their children, and their abhorence of all juvenile diversions, which compel youth to sacrifice their most innocent desires, or veil the gratification of them with the most anxious secrecy, have as direct a tendency to drive young persons into a profligate life, as the force of vicious example. It is impossible to give to the age of *twenty*, the feelings or the knowledge of *sixty*; as it would be folly to wish to clothe a child with grey hairs, or to stamp the fading aspect of Autumn on the bloom of May. Nature has given to every age some peculiar passions and appetites ; to moderate and refine these, not to trifle and destroy, is the business of common prudence and parental care.

8. I was led into this train of reflections by an acquaintance with the family of Emilius, which is a rare instance of domestic felicity. Parents indulgent to their children, hospitable to their friends, and universally respected ; their sons equally generous, modest and manly ; Emelia, an only daughter, the pride of her parents, possessed of every accomplishment that can honor herself, or endear her to her friends ; an easy fortune, and a disposition to enjoy and improve it to the purposes of humanity ; perfect harmony in domestic life, and unaffected satisfaction in the pleasures of society : Such is the family of Emilius.

9. Such a family is a little paradise on earth ; to envy their happiness is almost a virtue. Conjugal respect, parental tenderness, filial obedience, and brotherly kindness, are so seldom united, in a family, that when I am honored with the friendship of such, I am equally ambiti-

ous to participate their happiness and profit by the example.

10. Emelia's situation must be peculiarly agreeable. Her parents delight to gratify her in every amusement ; and contented with this, she knows no wish beyond the sacred bounds of honor. While, by their indulgence, she enjoys every rational pleasure, she rewards their generous care, by a dutiful behaviour and unblemished manners.

11. By thus discharging the reciprocal duties of their respective stations, the happiness of each is secured. The solicitude of the parent and the obedience of the child, equally contribute to the bliss of the little society ; the one calling forth every act of tenderness, and the other displayed in all the filial virtues.

12. Few families are destined to be so happy as that of Emilius. Were I to choose the situation where I could pass my life with most satisfaction, it would be in this domestic circle. My house would then be the residence of delight, unmixed with the anxieties of ambition or the regret of disappointment. Every act would be dictated by love and respect ; every countenance would wear the smile of complacence ; and the little unavoidable troubles, incident to the happiest situation, would only serve to increase our friendship and improve our felicity, by making room for the exercise of virtue.

C H A P. XVI.

EMELIA, or the Happiness of Retirement.

AS I was conversing with Emelia, a few days past, I asked whether she was contented to live so remote from the resort of company. She answered in the affirmative, and remarked further, that her situation enabled her to distinguish between *real* friends and *complimentary* : for if she lived in a more public place, she might be visited by crowds of people, who were civil indeed;

deed, but had no motive for calling on her, but to spend an idle hour, and gaze on the busy multitude.

2. I was pleased with the remark, and was naturally led to consider such a retired situation as a fortunate circumstance for a young lady of delicacy. Not only the happiness of a family, but the character of young women, both in a moral and social view, depends on a choice of proper company. A perpetual throng of company, especially if it furnishes a variety of new objects, has a pernicious effect on the dispositions of female minds.

3. Women are destined by nature to preside over domestic affairs. Whatever parade they make abroad, their *real* merit and *real* characters are known only at home. The behavior of servants, the neatness of furniture, the order of a table, and the regularity of domestic business, are decisive evidences of female worth. Perhaps sweetness of temper does not contribute more to the happiness of their partners and their families, than a proper attention to these articles.

4. For this reason, whatever has a tendency to divert the mind from these concerns, and give them a turn for empty show, endless noise, and tasteless amusements, ought to be carefully avoided by young ladies who wish for respect beyond the present moment. Misses, who are perpetually surrounded with idle company, or even live in sight of it, though they may be fortunate enough to preserve their innocence, are still in hazard of contracting such a fondness for dissipation and folly, as to unfit them for the superintendance of a family.

5. Another danger to which young women, possessed of personal charms, are exposed in public places, is, the flattery and admiration of men. The good opinion of a fop will hardly flatter a woman of discernment; much less their ordinary compliments, which are commonly without meaning. But the heart is often so disguised, that it is difficult at first to distinguish between a coxcomb and a man of worth; or if it is easy for an accurate observer, yet there is great danger that vanity and inexperience

inexperience will make young ladies overlook the distinction.

6. Few minds are effectually secured against the attacks of flattery. It is a poison the more fatal, as it seizes human nature in its weakest part. In youth, when the passions are in full vigor and the judgment feeble, female minds are peculiarly liable to be corrupted by the contagious influence of pretty civilities and affected admiration.

7. With whatever scruples they may at first listen to the praises that are bestowed on their real or pretended charms, a constant strain of flattering addressees, accompanied with obsequious complaisance, seldom fails of giving them too high an opinion of themselves. They are insensibly led to believe, that they are possessed of virtues to which they are really strangers. This belief satisfies them without attempting any further improvement; and makes them to depend, for reputation in life, on good qualities, the fancied existence of which begins and ends with the falsehood of customary compliments.

8. Such ladies, before marriage, are usually vain, pert, affected, and silly; and after marriage, haughty, disappointed and peevish. The most perfect beauty must fade, and cease to command admiration; but in most instances, the nuptial hour puts a period to that excess of flattering attention, which is the happiness of giddy females. The longest term of admiration must be short: that which depends solely on personal attractions, is often momentary.

9. The more flattery is bestowed upon young ladies, the less, in general, are they solicitous to acquire virtues which shall ensure respect when admiration shall cease. The more they are praised in youth, the more they expect it in advanced life, when they have less charms to command it. Thus the excessive complaisance of admirers, which are extremely pleasing at *sixteen*, proves at *forty*, a source of mortification and discontent.

10. I would by no means insinuate that young ladies, ought

ought to be kept total strangers to company, and to rational professions of esteem. It is in company only that they can acquaint themselves with mankind, acquire an easy address, and learn numberless little decorums, which are essential and cannot be taught by precept. Without these, a woman will sometimes deviate from that dignity and propriety of conduct, which, in any situation will secure the good-will of her friends, and prevent the blushes of her husband.

11. A fondness for company and amusement is blameable only when it is indulged to excess, and permitted to absorb more important concerns. Nor is some degree of flattery always dangerous or useless. The good opinion of mankind we are all desirous to obtain ; and to know that we possess it, often makes us ambitious to deserve it.

No passion is given to us in vain ; the best ends are sometimes effected by the worst means ; and even female vanity, properly managed, may prompt to the most meritorious actions.

12. I should pay Emelia but a very ill compliment to ascribe her virtues to her local situation ; for no person can claim as a virtue what she has been in no danger of losing. But there is no retirement beyond the reach of temptation, and the whole tenor of her conduct proves, that her unblemished morals and uniform delicacy, proceed from better principles than necessity or accident.

13. She is loved and flattered, but she is not vain ; her company is universally coveted, and yet she has no airs of haughtiness and disdain. Her cheerfulness in company shows that she has a relish for society ; her contentment at home and attention to domestic concerns, are early specimens of her happy disposition ; and her decent unaffected abhorrence of every species of licentious behavior, evinces, beyond suspicion, that the innocence of her heart is equal to the charms of her person.

C H A P. XVII.

JULIANA. *A real Character.*

JULIANA is one of those rare woman whose personal attractions have no rivals, but the sweetness of her temper and the delicacy of her sentiments. An elegant person, regular features, a fine complexion, a lively expressive countenance, an easy address, and those blushes of modesty that soften the soul of the beholder : these are her native beauties, which render her the object of universal admiration. But when we converse with her, and hear the melting expressions of unaffected sensibility and virtue that flow from, her tongue, her personal charms receive new lustre, and irresistibly engage the affections of her acquaintances.

2. Sensible that the great source of all happiness, is purity of morals and an easy conscience, Juliana pays constant and sincere attention to the duties of religion. She abhors the infamous, but fashionable vice of deriding the sacred institutions of religion. She considers a lady without virtue as a monster on earth ; and every accomplishment, without morals, as polite deception. She is neither a hypocrite nor an enthusiast ; on the contrary, she mingles such cheerfulness with the religious duties of life, that even her piety carries with it a charm, which insensibly allures the profligate from the arms of vice.

3. Not only the general tenor of her life, but in particular her behavior in church, evinces the reality of her religion. She esteems it not only criminal in a high degree, but extremely unpolite, to behave with levity in a place consecrated to the solemn purposes of devotion. She cannot believe that any person, who is solicitous to treat all mankind with civility, can laugh in the temple of Jehovah, and treat their great benefactor with heedless neglect.

4. In polite life, the manners of Juliana are peculiarly engaging.

engaging. To her superiors, she shows the utmost deference and respect; to her equals, the most modest complaisance and civility; while every rank, experience her kindness and affability. By this conduct she secures the love and friendship of all degrees. No person can despise her, for she does nothing that is ridiculous; she cannot be hated, for she does injury to none; and even the malevolent whispers of envy are silenced by her modest deportment and generous condescension.

5. Her conversation is lively and sentimental; free from false wit, frivolous minuteness, and affectation of learning. Although her discourse is always under the direction of prudence, yet it appears unstudied; for her good sense always furnishes her with thoughts suited to the subject, and the purity of her mind renders any caution in expressing them almost unnecessary. She will not lead the conversation; much less can she stun the ears of company with perpetual chat, to interrupt the discourse of others. But when occasion offers, she acquires herself with ease and grace; without the airs of pertness or the confusion of bashfulness.

6. But if the conversation happens to turn upon the foibles of either sex, Juliana discovers her goodness by silence, or by inventing palliations. She detests every species of slander. She is sensible that to publish and aggravate human errors, is not the way to correct them; and reformation, rather than infamy, is the wish and the study of her life. Her own amiable example is the severest of all satires upon the faults and the follies of her sex, and goes farther in discountenancing both, than all the censures of malicious detraction.

7. Altho' Juliana possesses every accomplishment that can command esteem and admiration; yet she has neither vanity nor ostentation. Her merit is easily discovered without show and parade. She considers, that haughtiness and contempt of others, always proceed from meanness; that true greatness is ever accessible; and that self recommendation and blustering pretensions, are but the glittering decorations of empty heads and trifling hearts.

8. However strong may be her desire of useful information, or however lively her curiosity, yet she restrains these passions within the bounds of prudence and good breeding. She deems it impertinent to the highest degree, to be prying into the concerns of other people; much more impertinent and criminal does she deem it, to indulge an officious inquisitiveness, for the sake of gratifying private spleen in the propagation of unfavorable truths. So exceedingly delicate is she in her treatment of her fellow creatures, that she will not read a paper nor hear a whisper, which a person does not wish to have known, even when she is in no danger of detection.

9. The same delicate attention to the feelings of others regulates her conduct in company. She would not, for the price of her reputation, be found laughing or whispering with one in the company. All nods, grimaces, fly looks, and half speeches, the cause of which is not known, are carefully avoided by her, and reprobated as the height of ill breeding, and the grossest insult to the company. Whenever this happens between two persons, the rest of the company have a just right to consider themselves the object of their ridicule. But it is a maxim of Juliana, that such conduct is a breach of politeness, which, no oddities or mistakes that happen in public company, can excuse or palliate.

10. It is very common for persons, who are destitute of certain accomplishments which they admire in other people, to endeavor to imitate them. This is the source of affectation, a fault that infallibly exposes a person to ridicule. But the ornaments of the heart, the dress and the manners of Juliana, are equally easy and natural. She need not to assume the *appearance* of good qualities which she possesses in *reality*; nature has given too many beauties to her person, to require the studied embellishments of fashion, and such are the ease and gracefulness of her behavior, that any attempt to improve them would lessen the dignity of her manners.

11. She is equally a stranger to that supercilious importance

portance which affects to despise the small, but necessary concerns of life; and that squeamish false delicacy which is wounded with every trifle. She will not neglect a servant in sickness because of the meanness of his employment; she will not abuse an animal for her own pleasure and amusement; nor will she go into fits at the distress of a favorite cat.

12. Her gentle soul is never disturbed with discontent, envy, or resentment; those turbulent passions which so often destroy the peace of society as well as of individuals. The native firmness and serenity of her mind forbid the intrusion of violent emotions; at the same time her heart, susceptible and kind, is the soft residence of every virtuous affection. She sustains the unavoidable shocks of adversity, with a calmness that indicates the superiority of her soul; and with the smile of joy or the tear of tenderness, she participates the pleasures or the sorrows of a friend.

13. But the discretion and generosity of Juliana, are particularly distinguished by the number and sincerity of her attachments. Her friendships are few, but they are all founded on the principles of benevolence and fidelity. Such confidence do her sincerity, her constancy and her faithfulness inspire, that her friends commit to her breast, their most private concerns, without reserve and without suspicion. It is her favorite maxim, that a necessity of exacting promises of secrecy, is a burlesque upon every pretension to friendship. Such is the character of the young, the amiable Juliana. If it is possible for her to find a man who knows her worth and has a disposition and virtues to reward it, the union of their hearts must secure that unmixed felicity in life, which is reserved for genuine love, a passion inspired by sensibility, and improved by a perpetual intercourse of kind offices.

C H A P. XVIII.

R U L E S f o r B E H A V I O R .

NEVER let your mind be absent in company. Command and direct your attention to the present object, and let distant objects be banished from the mind. There is time enough for every thing in the course of the day, if you do but one thing at once; but there is not time enough in the year, if you will do two things at a time.

Never attempt to tell a story with which you are not well acquainted; nor fatigue your hearers with relating little trifling circumstances. Do not interrupt the thread of discourse with a thousand *bems*, and by repeating often, *says he*, and *said I.* Relate the principal points with clearness and precision, and you will be heard with pleasure.

There is a difference between modesty and bashfulness. Modesty is the characteristic of an amiable mind; bashfulness discovers a degree of meanness. Nothing sinks a young man into low company so surely as bashfulness. If he *thinks* he shall not please, he most surely *will* not. Vice and ignorance are the only things we ought to be ashamed of; while we keep clear of them, we may venture any where, without fear or concern.

Frequent good company—copy their manners—imitate their virtues and accomplishments.

Be not very free in your remarks upon characters. There may be, in all companies, more wrong heads than right ones—more people who *deserve*, than who will *bear*, censure.

Never hold any body by the button, or the hand, in order to be heard through your story; for if people are not willing to hear you, you had much better hold your tongue, than hold *them*.

Never whisper in company. Conversation is common stock, in which all persons present, have a right to claim their share.

Always

Always listen, when you are spoken to; and never interrupt a speaker.

Be not forward in leading the conversation—this belongs to the oldest persons in company. Display your learning only on particular occasions. Never oppose the opinion of another, but with great modesty.

On all occasions avoid speaking of yourself, if it is possible. Nothing that we can say ourselves will varnish our defects, or add lustre to our virtues ; but on the contrary, it will often make the former more visible, and the latter, obscure.

Be frank, open, and ingenuous in your behavior ; and always look people in the face, when you speak to them.

Never receive nor retail scandal. In scandal, as in robbery, the receiver is as bad as the thief.

Never reflect upon bodies of men, either clergymen, lawyers, physicians, or soldiers ; nor upon nations and societies. There are good, as well as bad, in all orders of men, in all countries.

Mimickry is a common and favorite amusement of low minds, but should be despised by all great ones. We should neither practise it ourselves, nor praise it in others.

Let your expences be less than your income.

A fool squanders away, without credit or advantage to himself, more than a man of sense spends with both. A wise man employs his money, as he does his time—he never spends a shilling of the one, nor a minute of the other, but in something that is either useful, or rationally pleasing. The fool buys what he does not want, but does not pay for what he stands in need.

Form no friendships hastily. Study a character well, before you put confidence in the person. Every person is entitled to civility, but very few, to confidence. The Spanish proverb says, “ Tell me who you live with, and I will tell you who you are.” The English say, “ A man is known by the company he keeps.”

Good breeding does not consist in low bows, and formal ceremony : but in an easy, civil, and respectful behavior.

A well-

A well-bred man is polite to every person, but particularly to strangers. In mixed companies every person who is admitted, is supposed to be on a footing of equality with the rest; and consequently claims very justly every mark of civility.

Be very attentive to neatness. The hands, nails, and teeth, should be kept clean. A dirty mouth is not only disagreeable, as it occasions an offensive breath, but almost infallably causes a decay, and loss of teeth.

Never put your fingers in your nose or ears—it is a nasty vulgar rudeness, and an affront to company.

Be not a floven in dress; nor a fop. Let your dress be neat, and as fashionable as your circumstances and convenience will admit. It is said, that a man who is negligent at twenty years of age, will be a floven at forty, and intolerable at fifty.

It is *necessary* sometimes to be in *haste*; but always *wrong* to be in a *hurry*. A man in a hurry perplexes himself; he wants to do every thing at once, and does nothing at all.

Frequent and loud laughter, is the characteristic of folly, and ill manners—it is the manner in which silly people express their joy at silly things.

Humming a tune within yourself, drumming with the fingers, making a noise with the feet, whistling, and such awkward habits, are all breaches of good manners, and indications of contempt for the persons present.

When you meet people in the street or in a public place, never stare them full in the face.

When you are in company with a stranger, never begin to question him about his name, his place of residence, and his business. This impertinent curiosity is the height of ill-manners. Some persons, apologize, in a good natured manner, for their inquisitiveness, by an, “If I may be so bold;” “If I may take the liberty;” or “Pray, Sir, excuse my freedom.” These attempts to excuse one’s self, imply, that a man thinks *himself* an impudent fellow—and if he does not, other people think he is, and treat him as such.

Above all, adhere to morals and religion, with ~~far~~
moveable firmness. Whatever effect, outward show and
accomplishments may have, in recommending a man to
others, none but the good is really happy in *himself*.

C H A P. XIX.

THE WAY TO WEALTH.

Written by DR. FRANKLIN.

Being the Preface to an old Pennsylvania Almanac, called Poor Richard improved.

Courteous Reader !

I HAVE heard, that nothing gives an author so great pleasure, as to find his works respectfully quoted by others. Judge, then, how much I must have been gratified by an incident I am going to relate to you. I stopped my horse lately, where a great number of people were collected at an auction of merchants goods. The hour of sale not being come, they were conversing on the badness of the times, and one of the company called to a plain clean Old Man, with white locks,—‘ Pray, *Father Abraham*, what think you of the times? Will not these heavy taxes quite ruin the country? How shall we be ever able to pay them? What would you advise us to?’—Father Abraham stood up, and replied, ‘ If you would have my advice, I will give it you in short, “ for a word to the wise is enough;” as *Poor Richard* says.’ They joined in desiring him to speak his mind, and gathering round him, he proceeded as follows :

‘ Friends, says he, the taxes are indeed very heavy: and if those laid on by the government were the only ones we had to pay, we might more easily discharge them; but we have many others, and much more grievous to some of us. We are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly; and from these taxes the commissioners cannot ease or deliver us, by allowing an abatement. However, let us hearken to good advice,

and something may be done for us ; " God helps them that help themselves," as *Poor Richard* says.

I. ' It would be thought a hard government that should tax its people one tenth part of their time, to be employed in its service : but idleness taxes many of us much more ; sloth, by bringing on diseases, absolutely shortens life.—" Sloth, like rust, consumes faster than labor wears, while the key used is always bright," as *Poor Richard* says.—" But dost thou love life, then do not squander time, for that is the stuff life is made of," as *Poor Richard* says.—How much more than is necessary do we spend in sleep; forgetting that " The sleeping fox catches no poultry, and that there will be sleeping enough in the grave." as *Poor Richard* says.

" If time be of all things the most precious, wasting time must be" as *Poor Richard* says, " the greatest prodigality;" since, as he elsewhere tells us, " Lost time is never found again; and what we call time enough, always proves little enough :" Let us then up and be doing, and doing to the purpose; for by diligence we shall do more with less perplexity. " Sloth makes all things difficult, but industry all easy; and, he that riseth late, must trot all day, and shall scarce overtake his business at night ; while laziness travels so slowly, that poverty soon overtakes him. Drive thy business, let not that drive thee; and early to bed, and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise," as *Poor Richard* says.

' So what signifies wishing and hoping for better times ? We may make these times better, if we bestir ourselves. Industry need not wish, and he that lives upon hope will die fasting. There are no gains without pains; then help hands, for I have no lands," or, if I have, they are smartly taxed. " He that hath a trade, hath an estate ; and he that hath a calling, hath an office of profit and honor," as *Poor Richard* says; but then the trade must be worked at, and the calling well followed, or neither the estate nor the office will enable us to pay our taxes. If we are industrious, we shall never starve; for, " at the working man's house hunger looks in, but dares not enter."

ter." Nor will the bailiff or the constable enter, for, " Industry pays debts, while despair encreaseth them." What though you have found no treasure, nor has any rich relation left you a legacy. " Diligence is the mother of good luck, and God gives all things to industry. Then plow deep, while sluggards sleep, and you shall have corn to sell and to keep." — Work while it is called to-day, for you know not how much you may be hindered to-morrow. " One to-day is worth two to-morrows," as *Poor Richard* says; and farther, never leave that till to-morrow, which you can do to-day." If you were a servant, would you not be ashamed that a good master should catch you idle? Are you then your own master? Be ashamed to catch yourself idle, when there is so much to be done for yourself, your family, and your country. Handle your tools without mittens; remember, that "The cat in gloves catches no mice," as *Poor Richard* says. It is true, there is much to be done, and, perhaps, you are weak handed; but stick to it steadily, and you will see great effects; for, " Constant dropping wears away stones; and by diligence and patience the mouse ate in two the cable; and little strokes fell great oaks."

" Methinks I hear some of you say, " Must a man afford himself no leisure?" I will tell thee, my friend, what *Poor Richard* says; " Employ thy time well, if thou meanest to gain leisure; and, since thou art not sure of a minute, throw not away an hour." *Leisure* is time for doing something useful; this leisure the diligent man will obtain, but the lazy man never; for, " A life of leisure and a life of laziness is two things. Many without labor, would live by their wits only, but they break for the want of stock;" whereas industry gives comfort, and plenty, and respect. " Fly pleasures, and they will follow you. The diligent spinner has a large shift; and now I have a sheep and a cow, every body bids me good-morrow."

II. " But with our industry we must likewise be steady, settled, and careful, and oversee our own affairs with

our

our own eyes, and not trust too much to others; for, as Poor Richard says,

" I never saw an oft-removed tree,

Nor yet an oft-removed family,

That thrrove so well as those that settled be."

And again, " Three removes are as bad as a fire;" and again, " Keep thy shop, and thy shop will keep thee;" and again, " If you would have your businels done, go; if not, send." And again,

" He that by the plough would thrive,

Himself must either hold or drive."

And again, " The eye of a master will do more work than both his hands;" and again, " Want of care does us more damage than want of knowledge;" and again, " Not to oversee workmen, is to leave them your purse open; trusting too much to others care is the ruin of many;" for " In the affairs of this world, men are saved, not by faith, but by the want of it:" but a man's own care is profitable; for " If you would have a faithful servant, and one that you like, serve yourself. A little neglect may breed great mischief; for want of a nail the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe the horse was lost; and for want of a horse the rider was lost," being overtaken and slain by the enemy; all for want of a little care about a horse-shoe nail.

III. So much for industry, my friends, and attention to one's own business; but to these we must add frugality, if we would make our industry more certainly successful. A man may, if he knows not how to save as he gets, " keep his nose all his life to the grindstone, and die not worth a groat at last. A fat kitchen makes a lean will;" and

" Many estates are spent in the getting,

Since women for tea forsook spinning and knitting,

And men for punch forsook hewing and splitting."

" If you would be wealthy, think of saving, as well as of getting. The Indies have not made Spain rich, because her outgoes are greater than her incomes."

" Away, then, with your expensive follies, and you will

will not then have so much cause to complain of hard times, heavy taxes, and chargeable families ; for

" Women and wine, game and deceit,

Make the wealth small, and the want great."

And farther, " What maintains one vice, would bring up two children." You may think, perhaps, that a little tea or a little punch now and then, diet a little more costly, cloaths a little finer, and a little entertainment now and then, can be no great matter ; but remember,

" Many a little makes a mickle." Beware of little expences ; " A small leak will sink a great ship," as *Poor Richard* says ; and again, " Who dainties love, shall beggars prove ;" and moreover, " Fools make feasts, and wise men eat them." Here you are all got together to

this sale of fineries and nick-nacks. You call them *goods* ; but if you do not take care, they will prove *evils* to some of you.

You expect they will be sold cheap, and, perhaps, they may for less than they cost ; but, if you have no occasion for them, they must be dear to you. Remember what *Poor Richard* says, " Buy what thou hast no need of, and ere long thou shalt sell thy necessaries." And again, " At a great pennyworth pause a while."

He means, that perhaps the cheapness is apparent only, and not real ; or the bargain, by straitening thee in thy business, may do thee more harm than good. For in another place he says, " Many have been ruined by buying good pennyworths." Again, " It is foolish to lay out money in a purchase of repentance ;" and yet this folly is practised every day at auctions, for want of minding the Almanac.

Many a one, for the sake of finery on the back, has gone with a hungry belly, and have starved their families ; " Silks and fattins, scarlets and velvets, put out the kitchen fire," as *Poor Rishard* says. These are not the necessities of life ; they can scarcely be called the conveniences ; and yet only because they look pretty, how many want to have them ? By these, and other extravagancies, the genteel are reduced to poverty, and forced to borrow of those whom they formerly despised, but, who through industry and frugality, have

maintained their standing; in which case it appears plainly, that "A ploughman on his legs is higher than a gentleman on his knees," as *Poor Richard* says. Perhaps they have had a small estate left, which they knew not the getting of; they think "It is day, and will never be night;" that a little to be spent out of so much is not worth minding; but "Always taking out of the meal-tub, and never putting in, soon comes to the bottom," as *Poor Richard* says; and then, "When the well is dry, they know the worth of water." But this they might have known before, if they had taken his advice: If you would know the value of money, go and try to borrow some; for "He that goes a borrowing goes a ferrowing," as *Poor Richard* says; and, indeed, so does he that lends to such people, when he does not get it again. *Poor Dick* farther advises and says,

" Fond pride of dress is sure a very curse ;
Ere fancy you consult, consult your purse."

And again, "Pride is as loud a beggar as Want, and a great deal more saucy." When you have bought one fine thing, you must buy ten more, that your appearance be all of a-piece; but *Poor Dick* says, "It is easier to suppress the first desire, than to satisfy all that follow it:" And it is as truly folly for the poor to ape the rich, as for the frog to swell, in order to equal the ox.

" Vessels large may venture more,

But little boats should keep near shore."

It is, however, a folly soon punished: for, as *Poor Richard* says, "Pride that dines on vanity, sups on contempt: Pride breakfasted with plenty, dined with poverty, and supped with infamy." And, after all, of what use is this pride of appearance, for which so much is risked, so much is suffered? It cannot promote health, nor ease pain; it makes no increase of merit in a person; it creates envy; it hastens misfortune.

* But what madness must it be to *run in debt* for these superfluities? We are offered, by the terms of this sale, six months credit; and that, perhaps, has induced some of us to attend it, because we cannot spare the ready money

money, and hope now to be fine without it. But ah! think what you do when you run in debt; you give to another power over your liberty. If you cannot pay at that time, you will be ashamed to see your creditor; you will be in fear when you speak to him; you will make poor, pitiful, sneaking, excuses; and, by degrees, come to lose your veracity, and sink into base downright lying; for “The second vice is lying, the first is running in debt,” as *Poor Richard* says; and again to the same purpose, “Lying rides upon Debt’s back;” whereas a free-born American ought not to be ashamed to see or speak to any man living. But poverty often deprives a man of all spirit and virtue. “It is hard for an empty bag to stand upright.” What would you think of that prince, or of that government, who should issue an edict forbidding you to dress like a gentleman or gentlewoman, on pain of imprisonment or servitude?—Would you say you were free, have a right to dress as you please, and that such an edict would be a breach of your privileges, and such a government tyrannical? And yet you are about to put yourself under that tyranny, when you run in debt for such dress! Your creditor has authority, at his pleasure, to deprive you of your liberty, by confining you in goal for life, or by selling you for a servant, if you should not be able to pay him. When you have got your bargain, you may, perhaps, think little of payment; but as *Poor Richard* says, “Creditors have better memories than debtors; creditors are a superstitious sect, great observers of set days and times.” The day comes round before you are aware, and the demand is made before you are prepared to satisfy it; or, if you bear your debt in mind, the term which at first seemed so long, will, as it lessens, appear extremely short. Time will seem to have added wings to his heels as well as his shoulders. “Those have a short Lent who owe money to be paid at Easter.” At present, perhaps, you may think yourselves in thriving circumstances, and that you can bear a little extravagance without injury: but “For age and want save while you may, No morning fun lasts a whole day.”

Gain

Gain may be temporary and uncertain, but ever, while you live, expence is constant and certain ; and, " It is easier to built two chimnies, than to keep one in fuel," as *Poor Richard* says : So, " Rather go to bed supperless than rise in debt."

" Get what you can, and what you get hold,
 'Tis the stone that will turn all your lead into gold."
 And when you have got the philosopher's stone, sure you will no longer complain of bad times or difficulty of paying taxes.

IV. ' This doctrine, my friends, is reason and wisdom : but, after all, do not depend too much upon your own industry, and frugality, and prudence, though excellent things ; for they may all be blasted without the blessing of Heaven ; and, therefore, ask that blessing humbly, and be not uncharitable to those that at present want it, but comfort and help them. Remember Job suffered, and was afterwards prosperous.

" And now, to conclude, " Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other," as *Poor Richard* says, and scarce in that ; for, it is true, " We may give advice, but we cannot give conduct :" however, remember this, " They that will not be counselled, cannot be helped ;" and further, that " If you will not hear Reason, she will surely rap your knuckles," as *Poor Richard* says.'

Thus the old gentleman ended his harangue. The people heard it, and approved the doctrine, and immediately practised the contrary, just as if it had been a common sermon ; for the auction opened, and they began to buy extravagantly.—I found the good man had thoroughly studied my Almanacs, and digested all I had dropt on these topics during the course of twenty-five years. The frequent mention he made of me must have tired any one else ; but my vanity was wonderfully delighted with it, though I was conscious that not a tenth part of the wisdom was my own, which he ascribed to me ; but rather the gleanings that I had made of the sense of all ages and nations. However, I resolved to be the

the better for the echo of it; and, though I had at first determined to buy stuff for a new coat, I went away, resolved to wear my old one a little longer. Reader, If thou wilt do the same, thy profit will be as great as mine.

I am, as ever,

Thine to serve thee,

RICHARD SAUNDERS.

C H A P. XX.

ADVICE to a YOUNG TRADESMAN.

Written by Dr. Franklin, Anno 1748.

To my Friend *A. B.*

AS you have desired it of me, I write the following hints, which have been of service to me, and may, if observed, be so to you.

Remember that Time is Money. He that can earn ten shillings a day by his labour, and goes abroad, or sits idle one half of that day, though he spends but sixpence during his diversion or idleness, ought not to reckon that the only expence; he has really spent, or rather thrown away, five shillings besides.

Remember that Credit is Money. If a man lets his money lie in my hands after it is due, he gives me the interest, or so much as I can make of it during that time. This amounts to a considerable sum where a man has good and large credit, and makes good use of it.

Remember that Money is of a prolific generating nature. Money can beget Money, and its offspring can beget more, and so on. Five shillings turned is six: turned again, it is seven and three pence; and so on till it becomes an hundred pound. The more there is of it, the more it produces every turning, so that the profits rise quicker and quicker. He that kills a breeding sow, destroys all her offspring to the thousandth generation.

He

He that murders a crown, destroys all it might have produced, even scores of pounds.

Remember that Six Pounds a year is but a Groat a day. For this little sum (which may be daily wasted either in time or expence unperceived) a man of credit may, on his own security, have the constant possession and use of an Hundred Pounds. So much in stock briskly turned by an industrious man, produces great advantage.

Remember this saying,—*The good paymaster is lord of another man's purse.* He that is known to pay punctually and exactly at the time he promises, may at any time, and on any occasion, raise all the money his friends can spare. This sometimes is of great use. After industry and frugality, nothing contributes more to the raising a young man in the world, than *punctuality* and justice in all his dealings: therefore never keep borrowed money an hour beyond the time you promised, lest a disappointment shuts up your friend's purse for ever.

The most trifling actions that affect a man's credit, are to be regarded. The sound of your hammer at five in the morning or nine at night, heard by a creditor, makes him easy six months longer. But if he sees you at a billiard-table, or hears your voice in a tavern, when you should be at work, he lents for his money the next day. Finer cloaths than he or his wife wears, or greater expence in any particular than he affords himself, shocks his pride and he duns you to humble you. Creditors are a kind of people, that have the sharpest eyes and ears, as well as the best memories of any in the world.

Good-natured creditors (and such one would always deal with if one could) feel pain when they are obliged to ask for money. Spare them that pain and they will love you. When you receive a sum of money, divide it among them in proportion to your debts. Do not be ashamed of paying a small sum because you owe a greater. Money, more or less, is always welcome; and your creditor had rather be at the trouble of receiving ten pounds voluntarily brought him, though at ten different times or payments, than be obliged to go ten times to demand it before

before he can receive it in a lump. It shews, besides, that you are mindful of what you owe; it makes you appear a careful as well as an honest man; and that still increases your credit.

Beware of thinking all your own that you possess, and of living accordingly. It is a mistake that many people who have credit, fall into. To prevent this, keep an exact account, for some time, both of your expences and your incomes. If you take the pains at first to mention particulars, it will have this good effect; you will discover how wonderfully small trifling expences mount up to large sums, and will discern what might have been, and may for the future, be saved, without occasioning any great inconvenience.

In short, the Way to Wealth, if you desire it, is as plain as the Way to Market. It depends chiefly on two words, Industry and Frugality; that is, Waste neither Time nor Money, but make the best use of both. Without Industry and Frugality nothing will do, and with them every thing. He that gets all he can honestly, and saves all he gets (necessary expences excepted) will certainly become rich—If that Being who governs the world, to whom all should look for a blessing on their honest endeavours, doth not in his wise providence otherwise determine.

An Old Tradesman.

C H A P. XXI.

FAMILY DISAGREEMENTS *the frequent Cause of IMMORAL CONDUCT.*

AFTER all our complaints of the uncertainty of human affairs, it is undoubtedly true, that more misery is produced among us by the irregularities of our tempers, than by real misfortune.

And tis a circumstance particularly unhappy, that these irregularities of the temper are most apt to display themselves at our fire-sides, where every thing ought to be tranquil

tranquil and serene. But the truth is, we are awed by the presence of strangers, and are afraid of appearing weak or ill-natured when we act in the sight of the world; and so, very heroically, reserve all our ill-humour for our wives, children and servants. We are meek, where we might meet with opposition: but feel ourselves undauntedly bold where we are sure of no effectual resistance.

The perversion of the best things converts them to the worst. Home is certainly well adapted to repose and solid enjoyment. Among parents and brothers, and all the tender charities of private life, the gentler affections, which are always attended with feelings purely and permanently pleasureable, find an ample scope for proper exertion. The experienced have often declared, after wearying themselves in pursuing phantoms, that they have found a substantial happiness in the domestic circle. Hither they have returned from their wild excursions in the regions of dissipation, as the bird, after fluttering in the air, descends into her nest, to partake and to increase its genial warmth with her young ones.

Such and so sweet are the comforts of home, when not perverted by the folly and weakness of man. Indifference, and a carelessness on the subject of pleasing those whom it is our best interest to please, often render it a scene of dulness and insipidity. Happy if the evil extended no farther. But the transition from the negative state of not being pleased, to positive ill humor, is but too easy. Fretfulness and peevishness arise, as nettles vegetate, spontaneously, where no salutary plants are cultivated. One unkind expression infallibly generates many others. Trifles light as air are able to kindle the blaze of contention. By frequent conflicts and unrelaxed familiarity, all that mutual respect which is necessary to preserve love, even in the most intimate connections, is entirely lost: and the faint affection which remains, is too feeble, to be felt amid the furious operation of the hateful passions. Farewell peace and tranquility, and cheerful converse, and all the boasted comforts

forts of the family circle. The nest which should preserve a perpetual warmth by the constancy of paternal and conjugal affection, is rendered cold and joyless. In the place of the soft down which should cover it, are substituted thorns and briars. The waters of strife, to make use of the beautiful allusion of scripture, rush in with impetuous violence, and ruffle and discolor that stream, which, in its natural and undisturbed current, devolves its waters all smooth and limpid.

But it is not necessary to expatiate on the misery of family dissention. I mean more particularly to suggest, that family dissention, besides all its own immediate evils, is the fruitful parent of moral misconduct.

When the several parts which compose a family find themselves uneasy in that home which is naturally the seat of mutual enjoyment, they are tempted from the straight road of common prudence, to pursue their happiness through a devious wild of passion and imagination. The son, arrived at years of maturity, who is treated harshly at home, will seldom spend his evenings at the domestic fire-side. If he lives in the city, he will fly for refuge to company, and in the end it is very probable, he will form some unhappy connection which cannot be continued without a plentiful supply of money. Money, it is probable, cannot be procured. What then remains but to pursue those methods which unprincipled ingenuity has invented, and which, sooner or later, lead to their proper punishments, pain, shame and death!

But though the consequences are not always such as the operation of human laws produces, yet they are always terrible, and destructive of happiness and virtue. Misery is indeed the necessary result of all deviation from rectitude; but early debauchery, early disease, early profligacy of all kinds, are peculiarly fruitful of wretchedness, as they sow the seeds of misery in the spring of life, when all that is sown strikes deep root, and buds and blossoms, and brings forth fruit in profuse abundance.

In the disagreements between children and parents, it is certain that the children are usually most culpable.

Their violent passions and defective experience render them disobedient and undutiful. Their love of pleasure operates so violently, as often to destroy the force of filial affection. A parent is stung to the heart by the ingratitude of a child. He checks his precipitancy, and perhaps with too little command of temper; for who can always hold the reins? Asperity produces asperity. But the child was the aggressor, and therefore deserves a great part of the misery which ensues. It is, however, certain, that the parent is often imprudent, as well as the child undutiful. He should endeavor to render home agreeable by gentleness and reasonable indulgence: —for man at every age seeks to be pleased, but more particularly at the juvenile age. He should indeed maintain his authority; but it should be like the mild dominion of a limited monarch, and not the iron rule of an austere tyrant. If home is rendered pleasing, it will not be long deserted. The prodigal will soon return when his father's house is always ready to receive him with joy.

What is said of the consequences of domestic disunion to sons, is equally to be applied to daughters. Indeed, as the misconduct of daughters is more fatal to family peace, though perhaps not more heinous in a moral view, particular care should be taken to render them attached to the comforts of the family circle. When their home is disagreeable, they will be ready to make any exchange; and will often lose their characters, virtue, and happiness, in the pursuit of it. Indeed the female character and happiness are so easily injured, that no solicitude can be too great in their preservation. But prudence is necessary in every good cause as well as zeal; and it is found by experience, that the gentlest method of government, if it is limited and directed by good sense, is the best. It ought indeed to be steady, but not rigid; and every pleasure which is innocent in itself, and in its consequences, ought to be admitted, with a view to render less disagreeable that unwinking vigilance, which a delicate and sensible parent will judge necessary to be used in the care of a daughter.

To what wickedness, as well as wretchedness, matrimonial disagreements lead, every day's history will clearly inform us. When the husband is driven from his home by a termagant, he will seek enjoyment, which is denied him at home, in the haunts of vice, and in the riots of intemperance:—nor can female corruption be wondered at, though it must be greatly pitied and regretted, when in the heart of a husband, which love and friendship should warm, hatred is found to rankle. Conjugal infelicity not only renders life most uncomfortable, but leads to that desperate dissoluteness and carelessness in manners, which terminates in the ruin of health, peace, and fortune.

But it avails little to point out evils without recommending a remedy. One of the first rules which suggests itself, is, that families should endeavour, by often and seriously reflecting on the subject, to convince themselves, that not only the enjoyment, but the virtue of every individual, greatly depends on a cordial union. When they are convinced of this, they will endeavor to promote it: and it fortunately happens, that the very wish and attempt of every individual must infallibly secure success. It may, indeed, be difficult to restrain the occasional fallies of temper; but where there is, in the more dispassionate moments, a settled desire to preserve domestic union, the transient violence of passion will not often produce a permanent rupture.

It is another most excellent rule, to avoid a gross familiarity even where the connection is most intimate. The human heart is so constituted as to love respect. It would indeed be unnatural in very intimate friends to behave to each other with stiffness; but there is a delicacy of manner, and a flattering deference, that tend to preserve that degree of esteem, which is necessary to support affection, and which is lost in contempt, when it deviates into excessive familiarity. An habitual politeness of manners will prevent even indifference from degenerating to hatred. It will refine, exalt, and perpetuate affection.

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But the best and most efficacious rule is, that we should not think our moral and religious duties are only to be practised in public, and in the sight of those from whose applause we expect the gratification of our vanity, ambition, or avarice:—but that we should be equally attentive to our behaviour among those who can only pay us by reciprocal love. We must shew the sincerity of our principles and professions, by acting consistently with them, not only in the legislature, in the field, in the pulpit, at the bar, or in any public assembly, but at the fire-side.

C H A P. XXII.

SELF-TORMENTING.

DON'T meddle with that gun, Billy," said a careful mother, "if it should go off, it would kill you." "It is not charged, mother," says Will. "Well! but may be," says the good old woman, "it will go off, even if it isn't charged."—"But there is no lock on it, ma'am." "O dear Billy, I am afraid the hollow thing there, the barrel, I think you call it, will shoot if there is no lock."

Don't laugh at the old lady. Two thirds of our fears and apprehensions of evils and mischiefs of this life, are just as well grounded, as hers were in this case. There are many unavoidable evils in life, which it becomes us as men and as christians, to bear with fortitude: and there is a certain period assigned to us all, and yet dreaded by most of us, wherein we must conflict with death, and finally lose connexion with all things beneath the sun. These things are beyond our utmost power to resist, or sagacity to evade. It is our wisest part, therefore, to prepare to encounter them in such a manner as shall do honor to our profession, and manifest a perfect conformity to that directory on which our profession stands. But why need we anticipate unavoidable evils, and "feel a thousand deaths in fearing one?" Why need a woman be everlastingly burying her children, in her imagination, and

and spend her whole time in a fancied course of bereavement, because they are mortal, and must die some time or other? A divine teacher says, "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof;" but we put new and unnecessary gall in all the bitter cups we have to drink in life, by artfully mixing, sipping, and smelling beforehand; like the squeamish patient, who, by viewing and thinking on his physic, brings a greater distress and burden on his stomach, before he takes it, than the physic itself could ever have done. I would have people be more careful of fire-arms than they are: but I don't take a gun-barrel, unconnected with powder and lock, to be more dangerous than a broom-stick.

Serjeant *Tremble* and his wife feel as easy and secure as if their children were immortal, during a time of general health. Now and then, a neighbor drops off with a consumption, or an apoplexy: but that makes no impression, as all their children are plump and hearty. If there are no cancers, dysenteries, small-pox, bladders in the throat, and such like things to be heard of, they almost bid defiance to death; but the moment information was given that a child six miles off, had the throat distemper, all comfort bids adieu to the house; and the misery then endured from dreadful apprehensions lest the disease enter the family, is unspeakable. The old serjeant thought that when the wind blew from that quarter, he could smell the infection, and therefore ordered the children to keep house, and drink wormwood and rum, as a preservative against contagion. As for Mrs. *Tremble*, her mind was in a state of never ceasing agitation at that time: A specimen of the common situation of the family is as follows.—

Susy, your eyes look heavy, you don't feel a sore throat, do you? Husband, I heard *Tommy* cough in the bed-room just now. I'm afraid the distemper is beginning in his vitals, let us get up, and light a candle: you don't begin to feel any sore on your tongue or your mouth, do you, my dear little chicken? It seems to me *Molly* did not eat her breakfast with so good a stomach this morning as she

us'd to, I'm in distress for fear she has got the distemper a coming on. The house was one day a perfect Bedlam; for having heard that rue and rum was an excellent guard in their present danger, the good lady dispensed the catholicon so liberally among her children one morning, that not a soul of them could eat all day; Tom vomited heartily; Sue look'd as red as fire; and Molly as pale as death. O! what terrors, and heart-akings till the force of the medicine was over! To be short, the child that had the distemper died; and no other child was heard of, in those parts to have it; so that tranquility and security were restored to Mr. Tremble's family, and their children regarded as formerly, proof against mortality.

Mrs. *Foresight* keeps her mind in a continual state of distress and uneasiness, from a prospect of awful disasters, that she is forewarned of by dreams, signs, and omens. This, by the way, is affronting behavior to common-sense, and implies a greater reflection upon some of the divine perfections than some well meaning people are aware of. The good woman look'd exceedingly melancholy at breakfast, one day last week, and appeared to have lost her appetite. After some enquiry into the cause of so mournful a visage, we were given to understand, that she foresaw the death of some one in the family; having had warning in the night by a certain noise that she never knew fail, and then she went on to tell how just such a thing happened, before the death of her father, and mother, and sister, &c. I endeavored to argue her out of this whimsical gloomy state of mind, but in vain: she insisted upon it, that, tho' the noise lasted scarcely a minute, it began like the dying shriek of an infant, and went on to be like the tumbling of clods upon a coffin, and ended in the ringing of the bell. The poor woman wept bitterly for the loss of the child that was to die; however she found afterwards occasion for uneasiness on another account. The cat, unluckily shut up in the buttery, and dissatisfied with so long confinement, gave forth that dying shriek, which first produced the good woman's consternation; and then by some sudden effort

to get out at a grate at the upper part of the room, over-set a large pewter platter; the pewter platter in its way overset a large wooden bowl full of milk, and both together in their way knock'd down a white stone dish of salmon, which came with them into a great bras kettle that stood upon the floor. The noise of the cat, might easily be taken for that of a child, and the sound of salmon upon a board, for that of a clod, and any mortal may be excused for thinking that a pewter platter, and a great earthen dish broke in fifty pieces, both tumbling into a brass kettle, sounds like a bell.

C H A P. XXIII.

HISTORY of COLUMBUS.

EVERY circumstance relating to the discovery and settlement of America, is an interesting object of enquiry. Yet it is presumed, from the present state of literature in this country, that many persons, are but slightly acquainted with the character of that man, whose extraordinary genius led him to the discovery of the continent, and whose singular sufferings ought to excite the indignation of the world.

The Spanish historians, who treat of the discovery and settlement of South-America, are very little known in the United States; and Dr. Robertson's history of that country, which, as is usual in the works of that judicious writer, contains all that is valuable on the subject, is not yet reprinted in America, and therefore cannot be supposed to be in the hands of American readers in general: and perhaps no other writer in the English language has given a sufficient account of the life of Columbus to enable them to gain a competent knowledge of the history of the discovery of America.

Christopher Columbus was born in the republic of Genoa about the year 1447; at a time when the navigation of Europe was scarcely extended beyond the limits

of the Mediterranean. The mariner's compass had been invented and in common use for more than a century; yet with the help of this sure guide, prompted by the most ardent spirit of discovery, encouraged by the patronage of princes, the mariners of those days rarely ventured from the sight of land. They acquired great applause by sailing along the coast of Africa and discovering some of the neighboring islands; and after pushing their researches with the greatest industry and perseverance for more than half a century, the Portuguese, who were the most fortunate and enterprising, extended their discoveries southward no farther than the equator.

The rich commodities of the East had for several ages been brought into Europe by the way of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean; and it had now become the object of the Portuguese to find a passage to India, by sailing round the southern extremity of Africa and then taking an eastern course. This great object engaged the general attention of mankind, and drew into the Portuguese service adventurers from every maritime nation of Europe. Every year added to their experience in navigation and seemed to promise a reward to their industry. The prospect, however, of arriving in the Indies, was extremely distant; fifty years perseverance in the same track, had brought them only to the equator, and it was probable that as many more would elapse before they could accomplish their purpose. But Columbus, by an uncommon exertion of genius, formed a design no less astonishing to the age in which he lived, than beneficial to posterity. This design was to fail to India by taking a western direction. By the accounts of travellers who had visited India, that country seemed almost without limits on the east; and by attending to the spherical figure of the earth, Columbus drew this conclusion, that the Atlantic ocean must be bounded on the west, either by India itself, or by some great continent not far distant from it.

This extraordinary man, who was now about twenty-seven years of age, appears to have united in his character every trait, and to have possessed every talant requisite

quisite to form and execute the greatest enterprizes. He was early educated in all the useful sciences that were taught in that day. He had made great proficiency in geography, astronomy, and drawing, as they were necessary to his favourite pursuit of navigation. He had now been a number of years in the service of the Portuguese, and had acquired all the experience that their voyages and discoveries could afford. His courage and perseverance had been put to the severest test, and the exercise of every amiable and heroic virtue rendered him universally known and respected. He had married a Portuguese lady, by whom he had two sons, Diego and Ferdinand; the younger of whom is the historian of his life. Such was the situation of Columbus, when he formed and thoroughly digested a plan, which, in its operation and consequences, unfolded to the view of mankind one half of the globe, diffused wealth and dignity over the other, and extended commerce and civilization through the whole. To corroborate the theory which he had formed of the existence of a western continent, his discerning mind, which always knew the application of every circumstance that fell in his way, had observed several facts which by others would have passed unnoticed. In his voyages to the African islands he had found, floating ashore after a long western storm, pieces of wood carved in a curious manner, canes of a size unknown in that quarter of the world, and human bodies with very singular features. Fully confirmed in the opinion that a considerable portion of the earth was still undiscovered, his genius was too vigorous and persevering to suffer an idea of this importance to rest merely in speculation, as it had done in the minds of Plato and Seneca, who appear to have had conjectures of a similar nature. He determined, therefore, to bring his favorite theory to the test of actual experiment. But an object of that magnitude required the patronage of a Prince; and a design so extraordinary met with all the obstructions, delay and disappointments, which an age of superstition could invent, and which personal jealousy and malice could magnify
and

and encourage. Happily for mankind, in this instance, a genius capable of devising the greatest undertakings, associated in itself a degree of patience and enterprize, modesty and confidence, which rendered him superior, not only to these misfortunes; but to all the future calamities of his life. Prompted by the most ardent enthusiasm to be the discoverer of new continents, and fully sensible of the advantages that would result to mankind from such discoveries, he had the mortification to waste away eighteen years of his life, after his system was well established in his own mind, before he could obtain the means of executing his designs. The greatest part of this period was spent in successive and fruitless solicitations, at Genoa, Portugal and Spain. As a duty to his native country, he made his first proposal to the senate of Genoa; where it was soon rejected. Conscious of the truth of his theory, and of his own ability to execute his design, he retired without dejection from a body of men who were incapable of forming any just ideas upon the subject; and applied with fresh confidence to John the Second, King of Portugal, who had distinguished himself as a great patron of navigation, and in whose service Columbus had acquired a reputation which entitled him and his project to general confidence and approbation. But here he suffered an insult much greater than a direct refusal. After referring the examination of his scheme to the council who had the direction of naval affairs, and drawing from him his general ideas of the length of the voyage, and the course he meant to take, that great monarch had the meanness to conspire with his council to rob Columbus of the glory and advantage he expected to derive from his undertaking. While Columbus was amused with this negociation, in hopes of having his scheme adopted and patronized, a vessel was secretly dispatched, by order of the king, to make the intended discovery. Want of skill and perseverance in the pilot rendered the plot unsuccessful: and Columbus, on discovering the treachery, retired with an ingenuous indignation from a court capable of such duplicity.

Having

Having now performed what was due to the country that gave him birth, and to the one that had adopted him as a subject, he was at liberty to court the patronage of any prince who should have the wisdom and justice to accept his proposals. He had communicated his ideas to his brother Bartholomew, whom he sent to England to negotiate with Henry seventh ; at the same time that he went himself into Spain, to apply in person to Ferdinand and Isabella, who governed the united kingdoms of Aragon and Castile. The circumstances of his brother's application in England, which appears to have been unsuccessful, is not to my purpose to relate ; and the limits prescribed to this sketch will prevent the detail of all the particulars relating to his own negotiation in Spain. In this negotiation Columbus spent eight years, in the various agitations of suspense, expectation, and disappointment ; till, at length his scheme was adopted by Isabella, who undertook, as Queen of Castile, to defray the expences of the expedition ; and declared herself, ever after, the friend and patron of the hero who projected it.

Columbus, who, during all his ill success in the negotiation, never abated any thing of the honors and emoluments which he expected to acquire in the expedition, obtained from Ferdinand and Isabella a full stipulation of every article contained in his first proposals. He was constituted high Admiral and Vice-roy of all the Seas, Islands and Continents which he should discover ; with power to receive one tenth of the profits arising from their productions and commerce. These offices and emoluments were to be hereditary in his family.

These articles being adjusted, the preparations for the voyage were brought forward with rapidity ; but they were by no means adequate to the importance of the expedition. Three small vessels, scarcely sufficient in size to be employed in the coasting business, were appointed to traverse the vast Atlantic ; and to encounter the storms and currents that might be expected in so lengthy a voyage, through distant and unknown seas. These vessels,

as might be expected in the infancy of navigation, were ill constructed, in a poor condition, and manned by seamen unaccustomed to distant voyages. But the tedious length of time which Columbus had spent in solicitation and suspense, and the prospect of being able soon, to obtain the object of his wishes, induced him to overlook what he could not easily remedy, and led him to disregard those circumstances which would have intimidated any other mind. He accordingly equipped his small squadron with as much expedition as possible, manned with ninety men, and victualled for one year. With these, on the 3d of August, 1492, amidst a vast crowd of anxious spectators, he set sail on an enterprize, which, if we consider the ill condition of his ships, the inexperience of his sailors, the length and uncertainty of his voyage, and the consequences that flowed from it, was the most daring and important that ever was undertaken. He touched at some of the Portuguese settlements in the Canary Isles; where, although he had but a few days run, he found his vessels needed refitting. He soon made the necessary repairs, and took his departure from the westernmost Islands that had hitherto been discovered. Here he left the former track of navigation and steered his course due west.

Not many days after he had been at sea, he began to experience a new scene of difficulty. The sailors now began to contemplate the dangers and uncertain issue of a voyage, the nature and length of which was left entirely to conjecture. Besides fickleness and timidity natural to men unaccustomed to the discipline of a seafaring life, several circumstances contributed to inspire an obstinate and mutinous disposition, which required the most consummate art as well as fortitude in the admiral to control. Having been three weeks at sea, and experienced the uniform course of the trade winds, which always blow in a western direction, they contended that, should they continue the same course for a longer period, the same wind would never permit them to return to Spain. The magnetic needle began to vary its direction. This being

the

the first time that phenomenon was ever discovered, it was viewed by the sailors with astonishment, and considered as an indication that nature itself had changed her course, and that Providence was determined to punish their audacity, in venturing so far beyond the ordinary bounds of man. They declared that the commands of their sovereign had been fully obeyed, in their proceeding so many days in the same direction, and so far surpassing the attempts of all former navigators, in quest of new discoveries. Every talent, requisite for governing, soothing and tempering the passions of men, is conspicuous in the conduct of Columbus on this occasion. The dignity and affability of his manners, his surprising knowledge and experience in naval affairs, his unwearied and minute attention to the duties of his command, gave him a complete ascendency over the minds of his men, and inspired that degree of confidence which would have maintained his authority in almost any possible circumstances. But here, from the nature of the undertaking, every man had leisure to feed his imagination with all the gloominess and uncertainty of the prospect. They found, every day, that the same steady gales carried them with great rapidity from their native country, and indeed from all countries of which they had any knowledge. Notwithstanding all the variety of management with which Columbus addressed himself to their passions, sometimes by soothing them with the prognostics of discovering land, sometimes by flattering their ambition and feasting their avarice with the glory and wealth they would acquire from discovering those rich countries beyond the Atlantic, and sometimes by threatening them with the displeasure of their sovereign, should timidity and disobedience defeat so great an object, their uneasiness still increased. From secret whispering, it arose to open mutiny and dangerous conspiracy. At length they determined to rid themselves of the remonstrances of Columbus, by throwing him into the sea. The infection spread from ship to ship, and involved officers as well as common sailors. They finally lost all sense of subordination,

and addressed their commander in an insolent manner, demanding to be conducted immediately back to Spain ; or, they assured him, they would seek their own safety by taking away his life. Columbus, whose sagacity and penetration had discovered every symptom of the disorder, was prepared for this last stage of it, and was sufficiently apprized of the danger that awaited him. He found it vain to contend with passions he could no longer control. He therefore proposed that they should obey his orders for three days longer ; and, should they not discover land in that time, he would then direct his course for Spain. They complied with his proposal ; and, happily for mankind, in three days they discovered land. This was a small island, to which Columbus gave the name of San Salvador. Their first interview with the natives was a scene of amusement and compassion on the one part, and of astonishment and adoration on the other. The natives were entirely naked, simple and timorous, and they viewed the Spaniards as a superior order of beings, descended from the Sun, which, in that island and in most parts of America, was worshipped as a Deity. By this it was easy for Columbus to perceive the line of conduct proper to be observed toward that simple and inoffensive people. Had his companions and successors, of the Spanish nation, possessed the wisdom and humanity of that discoverer, the benevolent mind would feel no sensations, of regret, in contemplating the extensive advantages arising to mankind from the discovery of America.

In this voyage, Columbus discovered the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola ; on the latter of which, he erected a small fort, and having left a garrison of thirty-eight men, under the command of an officer by the name of Arada, he set sail for Spain. Returning across the Atlantic, he was overtaken by a violent storm, which lasted several days and increased to such a degree, as baffled all his naval skill, and threatened immediate destruction. In this situation, when all were in a state of despair, and it was expected that every sea would swallow up the crazy vessel, he manifested a serenity and presence of mind, perhaps

haps never equalled in cases of like extremity. He wrote a short account of his voyage, and of the discoveries he had made, wrapped it in an oiled cloth, enclosed it in a cake of wax, put it into an empty cask, and threw it overboard ; in hopes that some accident might preserve a deposit of so much importance to the world.

The storm however abated, and he at length arrived in Spain ; after having been driven by stress of weather into the Port of Lisbon, where he had opportunity, in an interview with the King of Portugal, to prove the truth of his system by arguments more convincing than those he had before advanced, in the character of an humble and unsuccessful suitor. He was received every where in Spain with royal honors, his family was ennobled, and his former stipulation respecting his offices and emoluments was ratified in the most solemn manner, by Ferdinand and Isabella ; while all Europe resounded his praises and reciprocated their joy and congratulations on the discovery of a new world.

The immediate consequence of this was a second voyage ; in which Columbus took charge of a squadron of seventeen ships of considerable burthen. Volunteers of all ranks and conditions solicited to be employed in this expedition. He carried over fifteen hundred persons, together with all the necessaries for establishing a Colony, and extending his discoveries. In this voyage he explored most of the West-India Islands ; but, on his arrival at Hispaniola, he found the garrison he had left there had been totally destroyed by the natives, and the fort demolished. He however proceeded in the planting of his colony ; and, by his prudent and humane conduct towards the natives, he effectually established the Spanish authority in that island. But while he was thus laying the foundation of their future grandeur in South America, some discontented persons, who had returned from the colony to Spain, together with his former enemies in that kingdom, conspired to accomplish his ruin.

They represented his conduct in such a light at court, as to create uneasiness and distrust in the jealous mind of Ferdinand,

Ferdinand, and made it necessary for Columbus again to return to Spain, in order to counteract their machinations, and to obtain such further supplies as were necessary to his great political and benevolent purposes. On his arrival at court, and stating with his usual dignity and confidence the whole history of his transactions abroad, every thing wore a favorable appearance. He was received with usual honors, and again solicited to take charge of another squadron, to carry out farther supplies, to pursue his discoveries, and in every respect to use his discretion in extending the Spanish Empire in the new World. In this third voyage he discovered the Continent of America at the mouth of the river Oronoke. He rectified many disorders in his government of Hispaniola which had happened in his absence; and every thing was going on in a prosperous train, when an event was announced to him, which completed his own ruin, and gave a fatal turn to the Spanish policy and conduct in America. This was the arrival of Francis de Bovadilla, with a commission to supersede Columbus in his government; and with power to arraign him as a criminal, and to judge of his former administration.

It seems that by this time the enemies of Columbus, despairing to complete his overthrow by groundless insinuations of mal-conduct, had taken the more effectual method of exciting the jealousy of their sovereigns. From the promising samples of gold and other valuable commodities brought from America, they took occasion to represent to the King and Queen, that the prodigious wealth and extent of the countries he had discovered would soon throw such power into the hands of the Viceroy, that he would trample on the royal authority, and bid defiance to the Spanish power. These arguments were well calculated for the cold and suspicious temper of Ferdinand, and they must have had some effect upon the mind of Isabella. The consequence was the appointment of Bovadilla, who had been the inveterate enemy of Columbus, to take the government from his hands. This first tyrant of the Spanish nation in America began

gan his administration by ordering Columbus to be put in chains on board a ship, and sending him prisoner to Spain. By relaxing all discipline, he introduced disorder and licentiousness throughout the colony. He subjected the natives to a most miserable servitude, and apportioned them out in large numbers among his adherents. Under this severe treatment perished, in a short time many thousands of those innocent people.

Columbus was carried in his fetters to the Spanish court, where the King and Queen either feigned or felt a sufficient regret at the conduct of Bovadilla towards this illustrious prisoner. He was not only released from confinement, but treated with all imaginable respect. But, although the king endeavored to expiate the offence by censuring and recalling Bovadilla, yet we may judge of his sincerity from his appointing Nicholas de Ovando, another bitter enemy of Columbus, to succeed in the government, and from his ever after refusing to reinstate Columbus, or to fulfil any of the conditions on which the discoveries were undertaken. After two years solicitation for this or some other employment, he at length obtained a squadron of four small vessels to attempt new discoveries. He now set out, with the ardor and enthusiasm of a young adventurer, in quest of what was always his favorite object, a passage into the South Sea, by which he might sail to India. He touched at Hispaniola, where Ovando, the governor, refused him admittance on shore even to take shelter during a hurricane, the prognostics of which his experience had taught him to discern. By putting into a small creek, he rode out the storm, and then bore away for the continent. Several months, in the most boisterous season of the year, he spent in exploring the coast round the gulph of Mexico, in hopes of finding the intended navigation to India. At length he was shipwrecked, and driven ashore on the Island of Jamaica.

His cup of calamities seemed now completely full. He was cast upon an island of savages, without provisions, without any vessel, and thirty leagues from any Spanish settlement.

settlement. But the greatest providential misfortunes are capable of being imbibited by the insults of our fellow creatures. A few of his hardy companions generously offered, in two Indian canoes, to attempt a voyage to Hispaniola, in hopes of obtaining a vessel for the relief of the unhappy crew. After suffering every extremity of danger and hardship, they arrived at the Spanish colony in ten days. Ovando, through personal malice and jealousy of Columbus, after having detained these messengers eight months, dispatched a vessel to Jamaica, in order to spy out the condition of Columbus and his crew; with positive instructions to the Captain not to afford them any relief. This order was punctually executed. The Captain approached the shore, delivered a letter of empty compliment from Ovando to the Admiral, received his answer and returned. About four months afterwards a vessel came to their relief; and Columbus, worn out with fatigues and broken with misfortunes, returned for the last time to Spain. Here a new distress awaited him, which he considered as one of the greatest he had suffered, in his whole life. This was the death of Queen Isabella, his last and greatest friend.

He did not suddenly abandon himself to despair. He called upon the gratitude and justice of the King, and, and in terms of dignity, demanded the fulfilment of his former contract. Notwithstanding his age and infirmities, he even solicited to be farther employed in extending the career of discovery, without a prospect of any other reward but the consciousness of doing good to mankind. But Ferdinand, cold, ungrateful, and timid, dared not to comply with a single proposal of this kind, lest he should encrease his own obligations to a man, whose services he thought it dangerous to reward. He therefore delayed and avoided any decision on these subjects, in hopes that the declining health of Columbus would soon rid the court of the remonstrances of a man, whose extraordinary merit was, in their opinion, a sufficient occasion of destroying him. In this they were not disappointed. Columbus languished a short time, and gladly resigned

resigned a life, which had been worn out in the most essential services perhaps that were ever rendered, by any human character, to an ungrateful world.

C H A P. XXIV.

Discovery and Settlement of NORTH AMERICA.

ALTHO' Columbus was the first discoverer of America, and ought to have had the honor of giving it his name, yet one Americus Vesputius, a native of Florence, who made a voyage hither, some years after Columbus, gave name to this vast continent. Columbus however, confined his discoveries to the Islands in the gulf of Mexico, and to the southern continent.

North America was discovered, some years after Columbus's first voyage, by Sebastian Cabot, an Englishman, who obtained a commission from Henry seventh, for discovering, settling, and possessing heathen countries. The first land he made, was Nova-Scotia.

1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert took possession of Newfoundland and St. Lawrence, and began the fishing trade.

1606 The first settlement of Canada, was made by Monsieur du Mont, a Frenchman: Quebec was once taken by some English adventurers; but was resigned to the French by treaty, and continued in their possession, till it was taken by the English, under the command of general Wolf.

VIRGINIA.

1584 The first grant of territory, within the present limits of the United States, was made to Sir Walter Raleigh. It included all the lands, from thirty three, to forty degrees of north latitude; to which he gave the name, *Virginia*, in honor of queen Elizabeth, who was never married. This grant was vacated by Sir Walter's attainters.

King

April King James, the first, by his letters patent,
1606 divided Virginia, into North and South Virginia. The latter, comprehended between the thirty fourth and forty first degrees of latitude, he granted to the London company. This patent was vacated by desire of the company, and a new grant was made to them, bounded by the fortieth degree of latitude.

While the property of Virginia was in Sir Walter, he made several fruitless attempts to settle it. Nearly half the first colony, was destroyed by the savages, and the rest, consumed and worn down, by fatigue and famine, returned to England in despair. The second colony was totally destroyed, probably by the savages. The third suffered a similar fate; and the fourth quarreling among themselves, neglecting their lands, to hunt for gold, and provoking the Indians, by their insolent behavior, lost several men, and the famished remains of them would have returned home, had they not met Lord Delaware, at the mouth of Chesapeek Bay, with a squadron loaded with provisions for their relief. The attention which this nobleman paid to this infant settlement, will enroll his name among the founders of the western empire, and the benefactors of mankind.

1606 The first permanent settlement was made on James River and called James Town. It is now an inconsiderable village.

N E W - Y O R K.

1608 Captain Henry Hudson, in his second voyage in search of a north west passage to the East Indies discovered the river which takes his name. The Dutch soon after established a small factory at New-York, and another at Albany. They kept possession about fifty years, when upon the breaking out of the war between the English and the Dutch, king Charles, the second, granted to his brother James, duke of York, the tract of land, which

which now includes New-York, New-Jersey, and part of Pennsylvania. The duke sent a body of troops, under the command of Sir Robert Car, and took possession of New-York, without much resistance. The Dutch, by way of reprisal, took the English settlement in Surinam. They afterwards conquered New-York; but at the treaty of peace, signed at Breda, it was ceded to the English in exchange for Surinam, and continued an English government, till the late revolution.

1667

N E W - E N G L A N D.

Before the settlement of Virginia, or of New-York, captain Gofnold had explored the eastern shore of New England,—he discovered and gave name to Elizabeth's Island, and Martha's Vineyard, in Boston bay. When king Jame divided 1602 Virginia, by his letters patent, the territory between the thirty eighth and forty fifth degrees of latitude, was called *North Virginia*. Several 1606 years afterwards, he incorporated a number of persons, among whom, were the duke of Lenox, the marquisses of Buckingham and Hamilton, and the earls of Arundle and Warwick, by the name of the “ Council established at Plymouth.” To this company, he made an absolute grant of all the lands in America, between the fortieth and forty eighth degrees of north latitude, throughout the main land, from sea to sea; excepting only such lands as were at that time, actually possessed by some other christian prince or state.

1620

M A S S A C H U S E T T S.

The same year, in which this grant was made, a number of Puritans, who had experienced some severities from the intolerant spirit of James and archbishop Laud, sought a retreat in the wilds of America. They, to the number

number of one hundred and fifty, arrived in the month of November, and seated themselves at Plymouth, in Massachusetts-Bay. Here they suffered all the inconveniences of cold, poverty and sickness. Many of them died, during the winter; but the free enjoyment of their religion, reconciled the survivors to their new situation. They bore their hardships with unexampled patience; and, by their industry, soon procured a comfortable subsistence.

Within eight years from the first planting of Plymouth, the colony had become respectable, by new emigrations from England. They proceeded to enlarge their settlements, and built Salem* and Boston†. These settlements were made in consequence of a grant from the Plymouth company, to Henry Roswell, Sir John Young and others, of all that part of New-England, which lies between a line drawn three miles north of Merrimak river, and another drawn three miles south of Charles river, from the Atlantic to the South Sea. These were the ancient limits of Massachusetts-Bay. In the year 1629 following, this grant was confirmed by Charles the first.

C O N N E C T I C U T.

1631 Three years after, Robert, Earl of Warwick, president of the council of Plymouth, granted to lord Say and Seal, to lord Brook and others, a tract of land, extending, from Naraganset river, forty leagues on the sea coast; and thence, through the main land, from the Western Ocean to the South Sea. This is the first grant of Connecticut. Smaller grants, from the first patentees, were afterwards made to particular people; in consequence of which Mr. Fenwick made a settlement at the mouth of Connecticut river, and 1634 gave it the name of Saybrook, in honor of the lords.

1636 lords Say and Seal, and Brook. Soon after, Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hooker left Massachusetts-Bay, and settled Hartford; near which had been a small Dutch settlement, the remains of which are still to be seen, on the bank of Connecticut river. The following year, Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport seated themselves at New Haven. Connecticut and New-Haven were separate governments, till the reign of Charles the second; when by agreement they were both incorporated, 1662 by the name of "the governor and company of Ap. 23 Connecticut." The charter by which these colonies were united still continues to be the basis of their government.

R H O D E - I S L A N D.

Notwithstanding the Puritans, who settled New-England, fled from their native country to avoid persecution, yet they possessed the same persecuting spirit themselves. This spirit discovered itself by the banishing of the Quakers and Anabaptists from Boston; who retired southward and built 1639 the town of Providence. These peaceable people, driven by the cruel and sanguinary rigor of the puritans, to seek a refuge abroad, extended their settlements to Rhode-Island, and in the 1674 reign of Charles the second, obtained a charter which continues to be the constitution of the state.

N E W - H A M P S H I R E.

1621 Soon after the settlement of Plymouth, in Massachusetts, captain John Mason, obtained from the council, a grant of land, from the river Naumkeag, now Salem, round cape Ann, to Merrimak river, and from the sea to the heads of those rivers; with the islands lying within three miles

miles of the coast. This district was called *Mari-*
riana. The next year, another grant was made
to Mason and Sir Ferdinand Gorges, jointly, of
the whole territory, from Merrimak to Sagada-
hok river, and from the ocean, to the lakes and
rivers of Canada. This district, which includes
the other, was called *Laconia*.

- 1623 Under the authority of this grant, a settlement
was made, near the mouth of Piscataqua river,
at a place called Little-Harbor, about a mile from
Portsmouth, the present capital of New-Hamp-
shire.
- 1629 Six years afterwards, a purchase was made
of the natives, who gave a deed of the tract of
land, lying between the Merrimak and Picata-
qua rivers.

The same year, Mason procured a new patent, under
the common seal of the council of Plymouth, of the lands
between the same rivers: which patent covered the whole
Indian purchase. This district is called New-Hampshire.

- 1641 Some years after the settlements on the Pisca-
taqua, New-Hampshire was, by agreement, unit-
ed to the government of Massachusetts. It con-
tinued under this jurisdiction, till the heir of
John Mason set up his claim to it, and procured
a confirmation of his title. It was then separated
from Massachusetts, and erected into a distinct go-
vernment. The heirs of Mason, sold their title
to the lands in New-Hampshire, to Samuel Allen
of London, for seven hundred and fifty pounds.
1679 This produced new controversies, concerning the
property of the lands, which embroiled the pro-
vince for many years.

The inhabitants about this time, suffered ex-
tremely by the cruelty of the savages: The towns
of Exeter and Dover, were frequently surprized
in the night—the houses plundered and burnt—
the men killed and scalped—and the women and
children, either killed, or led captives into the
wilderness. The first settlers in other parts of

New-

New-England, were also harrassed by the Indians, at different times; and it would require volumes to enumerate their particular sufferings.

1635 The Plymouth company resigned their grant to the king; but this resignation, did not materially affect the patentees under them; as the several grants to companies and individuals, were mostly confirmed, at some subsequent period, by charters from the crown.

N E W - J E R S E Y.

about 1614 It is not certain at what time the Swedes and Dutch settled upon the lands about the Hudson and Delaware; but it must have been after the settlement of Virginia, and before the settlement of New-England. The claims of these nations extended from the thirty eighth to the forty first degree of latitude. To this tract of country, they gave the name of New-Netherlands. It continued in their hands, till the reign of Charles the second, when it was given to the duke of York. A part of this territory was called New-York, in honor of the duke; and the whole as has been already mentioned, passed first by conquest, and afterwards by treaty, into the hands of the English.

1663 That part which lies between the Hudson and the Delaware, was granted to lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, and called New-Jersey*. The first grant however, was merely a lease for one year. The proprietors appointed Philip Carteret the first governor, and directed the land to be purchased of the Indians.

1674 After the New-Netherlands had been conquered by the Dutch, and again restored to the English by treaty, the grants both of king Charles to his brother the duke of York, and of the duke to the proprietors, were renewed. Lord Berkeley had

* Or Nova-Cæsarca.

1673 had sold his share of the territory, to John Fenwick, Esq. who soon after conveyed it to
 1674 William Penn, Gawn Lawry, and Nicholas Lucas.

1676 Two years after the proprietors divided their property, which they had before held, as joint-tenants. Sir George Carteret had the east division, called East New Jersey: Penn, Lawry, and Lucas, took the west division, called West New-Jersey. The line of division was drawn from Little-Egg-Harbor, to Hudson's river, at the forty first degree of latitude. Each party gave to the other quit-claim deeds of its own division.

1678 Two years after this partition, Carteret, by his last will, vested all his property in East Jersey in certain trustees, to be sold for the payment of his debts. The trustees conveyed it to twelve proprietors, who disposed of their rights at pleasure. The government continued in the proprietors, till
 1682 1702 the reign of queen Anne; when it was resigned to the crown. The government was then annexed to New-York—the people chose their assemblies; but the governor of New-York, used to attend them. The government was however detached from that of New-York, before the late revolution, when the two Jerseys became an independent state.

A considerable part of the state, still remains in the heirs or assigns of the proprietors. New Jersey takes its name from the island of that name in the English channel, where Sir George Carteret had considerable possessions.

P E N N S Y L V A N I A.

The first grant of Pennsylvania was designed by Charles the second for the famous admiral Penn, as a reward for his services. But the admiral dying before the grant was completed, it
 1680 was made to William Penn, and included a tract

tract of land extending from twelve miles north of New-Castle along the Delaware, to the beginning of the forty third degree of latitude, and from the Delaware westward five degrees of longitude.

Wm. Penn, who was distinguished as a *good* as well as a *great* man, took care to acquire the best of titles to his lands, by legal purchases from the natives, the sole proprietors of the soil. He introduced into his settlement a most liberal plan of civil and religious policy—he tolerated all religious sects, and thus invited not only his own sect, the *Friends*, to remove from England, but also vast numbers of all denominations from Ireland and Germany.

The government continued in the descendants of Wm. Penn, till the late revolution; when the people assembled, formed a republican constitution of government, and gave the proprietors a sum of money * in lieu of all quit-rents.

In one century from the date of the charter of Pennsylvania, its inhabitants amounted to almost four hundred thousand souls. Its situation is favorable for commerce, and it has the singular felicity of being peopled principally by Quakers and Germans, whose habits of industry and frugality are adapted to the accumulations of wealth.

D E L A W A R E.

The Swedes and Dutch were among the first settlers in North America. They had planted themselves on the banks of the Delaware, many years before Wm. Penn obtained his grant; and their descendants remain there to this day. Their settlements were comprehended in the grant to the duke of York; and when W. Penn came to take possession of his lands in America, he purchased the three counties, now state of Delaware, of the duke, and united them to Pennsylvania. They were afterwards separated, in some measure, from Pennsylvania. had their own assemblies, but the governor of Pennsylvania

* £. 130,000 Sterling.

sylvania used to attend, as he did in his own proper government. At the late revolution, the three counties were erected into a sovereign state.

MARYLAND.

1632 During the reign of Charles the first, lord Baltimore applied for a patent of lands in Virginia, and obtained a grant of a tract upon Chesapeek Bay, containing nearly one hundred and forty miles square. This tract was named *Maryland*, in honor of queen Henrietta Maria. Lord Baltimore was a Roman Catholic, and, with a number of that denomination, began a settlement in Maryland. The rigor of the laws in England against this religion drove many of the best families from that country, and greatly promoted the settlement of Maryland. Lord Baltimore procured an act of assembly, giving free liberty for all denominations of Christians to enjoy their religious opinions. But, upon the revolution in England, the penal laws against the Catholics were extended to the settlements in Maryland; and the Episcopal Church was established, both here and in Virginia. This establishment continued till the late revolution.

Maryland was a proprietary government, and, at the commencement of the late war, was in the hands of lord Harford, a natural son of the late lord Baltimore. But upon the revolution in America, the people assembled and formed a constitution of civil government, similar to those of the other states. Lord Harford was an absentee during the war, and his property was confiscated. Since the war, he has applied to the legislature for his estate, but could not obtain even a compensation, or the quit-rents, which were due before the commencement of the war.

THE CAROLINAS.

The French, under the direction of Admiral Chaftillon, made an early discovery of the southern coast of North America. They first landed near the river, now called Albemarle, in North-Carolina ; but not being in a situation to establish a settlement, they returned to France.

1564 The admiral, pleased with the account they gave of the country, fitted out a small fleet, with about five hundred men, to begin a colony where their countrymen had landed on the first expedition. Here they built a fort, called Fort Charles ; and in honor of Charles the ninth, then king of France, they called the whole country *Carolina*. But the Spaniards obtained information of their proceedings, and sent a body of troops, which reduced the colony, and put the people to the sword.

No further attempts to effect a settlement here, were made by the French ; nor were any attempts made by the English, until Sir William Raleigh projected an establishment on this coast. *

about 1663 In the reign of Charles the second, the earl of Clarendon, the duke of Albemarle, and others obtained a grant of the lands between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degrees of latitude ; they were constituted lords proprietors, and invested with powers to settle and govern the country. They began a settlement, between Ashley and Cooper rivers, and called it Charlestown. The model of a constitution, and the body of laws which they introduced, were framed by the celebrated Mr. Locke.

This constitution was aristocratical ; establishing orders of nobility. The Landgraves, or first rank, had forty eight

* Sir Walter's first attempts, it is said, were made within the present limits of North-Carolina.

thousand acres of land—the *Cassiques*, or second order had twenty four thousand acres—the Barons, or lower rank, had twelve thousand acres. The lower house was to be composed of representatives chosen by the towns or counties, and the whole legislature was denominated, a *parliament*. The lords proprietors stood in the place of king.

They gave unlimited toleration of religion, but the *Episcopalian*s, who were the most numerous, attempted to exclude the dissenters from a place in the legislature. This produced tumults and disorder among the settlers, and finally between the people and the lords proprietors. These dissensions checked the progress of the settlement and induced the parliament of England to take the province under their immediate care. The proprietors accepted about twenty four thousand pounds sterling for the property and jurisdiction; except the earl Granville, who kept his eighth of the property. The constitution was new-modelled, and the district divided into North and South Carolina. These remained separate royal governments, till they become independent by the late revolution.

1728

G E O R G I A. *

The whole territory between the rivers, Savannah and Altamaha was vested, by the parliament of Great Britain, in trustees, who were to promote a settlement of the country. Mr. Oglethrope was appointed the first governor, and he began a settlement on Savannah river, with about a hundred and fifteen poor people. But the original plan of settlement was extremely injudicious, and could not fail to disappoint the expectations of the projectors.

The grant to the trustees was therefore revoked, and

* Georgia was so named in honor of George the second.

the province erected into a royal government. It had just begun to recover from the low state, to which it had been reduced by the narrow policy of the English government, when the late war commenced. Georgia contains vast tracts of valuable land—its present government is liberal—and the settlement of it, by emigrations from other states, is uncommonly rapid.

C H A P. XXV.

G E O G R A P H Y.

EXPLANATION of the TERMS in GEOGRAPHY.

THE terraqueous globe is the world or earth, consisting of land and water.

About three-fifths of the surface of the earth is covered with water.

The land is divided into two great continents, the eastern and western.

The eastern continent is divided into Europe, Asia and Africa. The western continent is divided into North and South America.

A *Continent* is a vast tract of land, not separated into parts by seas.

An *Island* is a body of land, less than a continent, and surrounded with water.

A *Cape* is a point of land, running some distance into the sea.

A *Peninsula* is a narrow neck of land, running far into the sea.

A *Promontory*, or head-land, is a high point of land jutting into the sea.

A small rise of land, is called a *Hill*—a large rise is called a *Mountain*.

An *Isthmus* is a neck of land, which joins large divisions of the earth.

An *Ocean* is the largest division of water, and not enclosed by land.

That

That which washes the western shore of America, is called the *Pacific Ocean*. It is ten thousand miles wide, and separates America from Asia.

That which washes the eastern shore of America, is called the *Atlantic Ocean*. It separates America from Europe and Africa, and is generally three thousand miles wide.

That which washes the southern coast of Asia, is called the *Indian Ocean*.

A *Sea* is the next largest division of water. It is commonly a branch of an ocean, extending into a continent*.

The passage of water, by which a sea communicates with an ocean, is called a *Straight*.

Lakes are large bodies of water, surrounded by land. When these bodies of water are small, they are called *Ponds*.

A *Bay*, is a part of the sea, extending into the land, and not wholly surrounded by it.

When a bay is very large, penetrates far into the land, and is almost enclosed by it, it is denominated a *Gulf*.

A passage of water, between an island and the continent, and communicating with the ocean, is called a *Sound*.

Waters arising in small quantities out of the earth, are called *Springs*. The small streams flowing from springs, lakes and ponds, are called *Rivulets*, *Rills*, *Runs*, or *Brooks*. When numbers of these are united and form large streams, the streams are called *Rivers*.

Latitude is the distance from the equator, either north or south.

Longitude is the distance from any meridian, either east or west.

WESTERN CONTINENT.

America is about nine thousand miles in length, and generally three thousand miles in breadth; although in one place, at the isthmus of Darien, it is only sixty.

North

* In common discourse we use *sea* instead of *ocean*. The distinction between these terms, is principally confined to geographical treatises.

North America, the country which we inhabit, is about five thousand miles in length, from north to south, and from one to three thousand miles in breadth, from east to west.

Mountains.

In all countries, the land rises as we depart from the waters of the sea or rivers; so that the highest land is nearly at an equal distance from two rivers, or from the sea on one side, and from a river on the other.

Between the Atlantic and the Mississippi run several vast ridges of mountains, in a direction with the sea coast; that is, from north-east to south-west. They extend from about the latitude 42, in the back parts of New-York or Pennsylvania, to the middle of Georgia nearly in latitude 31, where they all converge to a single ridge, and subside gradually into a level country, giving rise to some of the rivers which fall into the gulph of Mexico. The southern part of this ridge is called the *Apalachian mountains*, from a tribe of Indians living on a river, which has its source in the mountains, and is called *Apalachikola*. The first ridge in Pennsylvania and Virginia, is called the *Blue Ridge*, about one hundred and thirty miles from the Atlantic. This is about four thousand feet high, measuring from its base. Between this and the North Mountain is a large fertile vale. The latter is the ridge of the greatest extent; but the principal ridge is the *Allegany*, which divides the territory between the Atlantic and Mississippi, and is the height of land between them, although not so high from its base as the Blue Ridge. All the ridges are broken through by rivers, except the Allegany. The passage of the Potomak, through the Blue ridge is one of the most stupendous scenes in nature. It is thus described by a gentleman perfectly acquainted with this country *. " You stand on a very high point of land. On your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the

* Mr. Jefferson.

foot of the mountain one hundred miles to seek a vent. On your left approaches the Potomak, in quest of a passage also. In the moment of their junction, they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea. The first glance of this scene hurries our senses into the opinion, that, at the creation, the mountains were formed first, that the rivers began to flow afterwards, that in this place particularly they have been dammed up by the Blue Ridge of mountains, and have formed an ocean, which filled the whole valley; that continuing to rise they have at length broken over at this spot, and have torn the mountain down from its summit to its base. The piles of rock on each hand, but particularly on the Shenandoah, the evident marks of their disruption and avulsion from their beds, by the powerful agents of nature, corroborate the impression. But the distant finishing which nature has given to the picture, is of a very different character. It is a true contrast to the fore-ground. It is as placid and delightful, as that is wild and tremendous. For the mountain being cloven asunder, she presents to your eye, through the clift, a small catch of smooth blue horizon, at an infinite distance in the plain country, inviting you, as it were, from the riot and tumult roaring around, to pass through the breach and participate of the calm below.

Here the eye ultimately composes itself; and that way too the road happens actually to lead. You cross the the Potomak above the junction, pass along its side through the base of the mountain for three miles; its terrible precipices hanging over you, and within about twenty miles reach Frederick's-Town*, and the fine country round that. This scene is worth a voyage across the Atlantic. Yet here, as in the neighborhood of the natural bridge, are people who have passed their lives within half a dozen miles, and have never been to survey these monuments of a war between rivers and mountains, which must have shaken the earth itself to its center."

Between

* In Maryland, fifty-five miles west of Baltimore.

Between the Delaware and the Hudson, the mountains are not so high. But near the Hudson, below Albany, the Kaats-kill mountains rise to a great height, and make a majestic appearance.

Between the Hudson and Connecticut rivers, the land rises into hills, near the sea, which hills run northward, and form the Green Mountain in the state of Vermont. This ridge has the Hudson, and lake Champlain on the west, and Connecticut river, on the east. It extends from the ocean to Canada.

Between Connecticut river and the sea on the east, there is a ridge of high land, but no considerable mountains, till we arrive in the western parts of New-Hampshire, and the province of Main, nearly three hundred miles from the mouth of the river.

Rivers.

The river St. Lawrence flows out of the vast lakes which are on the north west of the United States, and running north east, falls into the Atlantic Ocean. It is very large, and navigable for vessels of burden to Quebec, three hundred miles from its mouth; but the navigation is obstructed by the ice, at least five months in the year.

Penobscot is a considerable river, which rises in Canada, and running south, falls into the bay of Fundy.

Kennebek has its source in the same country, and taking a southern direction falls into the same bay.

The river Piscataqua rises in the mountains, in the west of the province of Main, and running south east, divides that country from New-Hampshire, and empties into the sea, at Portsmouth.

Merrimak river rises in the highlands, in the back parts of New-Hampshire, and bending its course south east, becomes navigable for small vessels at Haverhill, twelve miles from its mouth, which forms the harbor of Newbury-Port.

Connecticut river has its source in the confines of Canada:

Its

Its course is southerly, and after running about four hundred miles, it falls into Long-Island sound. This river, like the Nile, overflows its banks, in the month of April or May, and forms a rich meadow on one side or other, for a length of three hundred miles, almost without any interruption. It is navigable for vessels of eighty or one hundred tons, to Hartford, forty miles from its mouth. It is navigable for boats, three hundred miles, except several falls, which are impassible. This river, like most others in America, abounds with fish; and it is remarkable, that no salmon were ever seen southward of this river.

The river Hudson, which takes its name from the discoverer, forms a large bay, navigable for ships of burden, one hundred and thirty miles to the city of the same name. The tide flows to Albany, one hundred and sixty miles from the mouth. This river rises in the country west of lake Champlain, and nine miles above Albany receives the Mohawk, a large stream, which above the falls, is navigable for boats. The falls, or as they are usually called, in the language of the natives, Kohoez, are a great curiosity; being a perpendicular descent, of at least thirty feet, from one side of the river to the other. The large rivers to the southward of the Hudson, have their sources in the vast mountains, that extend from the lakes to Florida, which have been described.

The Mississippi rises in the unexplored regions to the north west of the United States. It runs south, dividing the continent, at nearly equal distances from the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and falls into the gulf of Florida: Its course is almost four thousand miles. A bar at the mouth and a very rapid current, renders the navigation of this river difficult.

It is remarkable, that almost all the rivers in America, as well as many places now settled by English Americans, preserve the names given them by the natives of the country. This is paying a tribute of respect to the Indians, who formerly possessed these fertile regions; and the names are a kind of history of the savage settlements.

Islands.

Islands.

The principal islands on the American coast are, Newfoundland, which lies in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and whose banks furnish the best fishery in the world.

Cape Breton and St. John's, which lie to the southward of Newfoundland.

Rhode-Island, which is small but fertile, and lies at the mouth of Providence river.

Long-Island, which stretches along the coast of Connecticut and New-York.

Besides these, there are great numbers of small islands, some of which are inhabited, and very fertile. Such are Staten-Island, Block-Island, Fisher's-Island, and Martha's Vineyard.

Capes.

Cape *Race* is the south east point of the island of Newfoundland. Another point of the same island on the east is called Cape *Bonavista*. On the north is Cape *Hastmilton*.

Cape *Sable* is the southernmost point of land between the Bay of Fundy and the ocean. This is a dangerous place for ships.

Cape *Anne* is a point of land extending into the sea, on the north of Boston harbor.

Cape *Cod* extends a great distance into the sea, on the south of Boston harbor. It is a place of dangerous navigation, by reason of the banks of sand which run into the ocean, and render the water shallow, for two hundred miles.

Montauk point is the east end of Long Island.

Cape *May* and Cape *Henlopen* are the two points of land formed by the mouth of Delaware river: Cape *May* upon the north, and *Henlopen* upon the south.

Cape *Charles* and Cape *Henry* are formed at the entrance of Chesapeek Bay: The first upon the north, and the last upon the south.

But the most remarkable and dangerous cape on the coast of North America is, *Hatteras*, which is a point of land extending far into the ocean, from the coast of North-Carolina. The water is very shoal at a great distance from the land. The gulf stream almost washes this point of land. The cape is remarkable for sudden squalls of wind, and for the most severe storms of thunder, lightning, and rain, which happen almost every day, during one half the year.

To the southward of Hatteras, are Cape *Lookout*, Cape *Fear*, and Cape *Roman*. The shoals, which extend off the latter cape, render the navigation near the coast, very dangerous.

Cape *Florida* is the southernmost point of land, on the east of the gulf of Mexico.

Bays.

The bay of *Fundy* between New-England and Nova-Scotia, is remarkable for its tides, which rise to the height of fifty or sixty feet, and flow with such rapidity as to overtake animals which feed upon the shore.

The *Chesapeake* is one of the largest bays in the known world. Its entrance is in Virginia, and it extends two hundred and seventy miles to the northward, dividing Virginia and Maryland. Its width is generally eighteen miles, and its navigation is easy and safe. This bay receives the waters of some of the largest rivers in America; the Susquehanna—the Potomak—the Rappahannock—York and James rives.

Besides these, there are great numbers of smaller bays, that form harbors—such is Casco Bay, at the mouth of the Kennebek. Chebukto Bay, in Nova-Scotia, is distinguished by the loss of a French fleet, destined for that port in a former war between France and England.

Straits.

Straits.

The straits of *Belle Isle* divide the island of Newfoundland from the Labrador coast.

The straits of *Canso* separate the island of Cape Breton from Nova-Scotia.

The strait, called Hell-Gate, between Long-Island and the main, near New-York, is remarkable for whirl-pools, occasioned by the meeting of the tides from the east and west, which render its passage unsafe, except at high or low water.

The Gulf Stream.

The Gulf stream is a remarkable phenomenon. It is a current in the ocean, which runs along the coast from the Gulf of Mexico to the banks of Newfoundland. It is generally about sixty leagues from shore, and its rapidity, three miles an hour. It is supposed to be occasioned by the trade winds that are constantly driving the water to the westward; which being compressed in the Gulf of Mexico, finds a passage between Florida and the Bahama Islands, and runs to the north east along the American coast. This hypothesis is confirmed by another fact: It is said that the water in the Gulf of Mexico is many yards higher, than on the western side of the continent, in the Pacific Ocean.

Lakes.

No country furnishes such Lakes as America. Lake Champlain which is almost the smallest, is one hundred and thirty miles long, and generally twenty miles broad.

Lake Ontario, Erie, Huron and Michigan are from three to five hundred miles in circumference. But Lake Superior exceeds all the others; being fifteen hundred miles in circumference and containing many large islands. These lakes abound with fish.

Between the Lakes, Erie and Ontario, is the great cataract, called, the falls of Niagara. Here a vast body of water descends almost perpendicularly one hundred and fifty feet; producing the most terrible noise, and a fog or mist that covers the country for many miles.

These vast lakes are connected by streams navigable for boats; and thro' the middle of them runs the northern limit of the United States.

Cascade in Virginia.

There is a remarkable cascade or water-fall in Augusta, called the *Falling-Spring*. It is a branch of the James, where it is called *Jackson's River*, rising in the mountain twenty miles south west of the warm spring. The water falls over a rock two hundred feet, which is about fifty feet farther than the fall at Niagara. Between the sheet of water and the rock below, a man may walk across dry.

Caves.

Maddison's cave is a curiosity. It is on the north side of the Blue Ridge and extends into the earth three hundred feet. The vault or opening is from twenty to forty feet high, of solid limestone, through which water is continually percolating. This trickling down of the water has formed an incrustation on the sides of the cave; and the dropping from the top has formed solid spars, hanging like icicles; and on the bottom it has formed figures like a sugar loaf.

In another ridge, at the Panther Gap, is the *Blowing Cave*; from which issues a constant stream of air, sufficient to prostrate weeds at the distance of twenty yards. The air is strongest in dry frosty weather.

There are in Virginia some medicinal springs, particularly the *Warm Spring*, which issues in a stream sufficient to turn a grist mill—its water, which is of a blood heat, is efficacious in the rheumatism. The *Hat Spring* is smaller

smaller—its heat has boiled an egg, and the water has relieved persons when the warm spring has failed.

C H A P. XXVI.

GEOGRAPHY of the UNITED STATES.

THE United States of America, are Thirteen ; New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, (which four are usually called New-England) New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia. Vermont is an independent state.

The territory granted to these states, extends from Canada and the lakes, to Florida; and from the Atlantic Ocean, to the river Mississippi : It is about fourteen hundred miles in length, from north east to south west; and from east to west, its breadth at the northern extremity, is about twelve hundred miles; but at the southern, not more than seven hundred.

The northern part of this land upon the sea, is called the *province of Main*; but it belongs to the state of Massachusetts. It extends from the river Piscataqua, to Nova-Scotia, and from the ocean to Connecticut river. It contains three counties, and the large rivers Penobscot and Kennebek. Its principal settlements, are Old-York, Scarborough, and Falmouth : The last, which was the largest settlement, was burnt by the British troops, during the late war; but is rebuilt, and now called *Portland*.

The sea shore is barren land; but at a distance from the sea, and on the rivers, the land is tolerably fertile. The principal article of exportation is lumber.

N E W - H A M P S H I R E

Is a tract of land, originally carved out of Massachusetts. It lies on the south side of the Piscataqua, between the sea and Connecticut river. Its form is nearly that of a sugar-loaf, or pyramid, the base of which,

stretches nearly two hundred miles on Connecticut river; but its breadth is contracted to sixteen miles only on the sea.

Its principal town, Portsmouth, lies near the mouth of the Piscataqua; where the river forms a good harbor, navigable for large ships. The town contains nearly five hundred houses, and about four thousand five hundred inhabitants. The principal articles of exportation, are lumber, and vessels, which are built at Exeter, a very pleasant settlement, fifteen miles from the mouth of the river.

At Hanover, in the western part of the state, there is a college, founded by the late Dr. Wheelock, which consists of about one hundred students. It is called Dartmouth college, in honor of lord Dartmouth, one of its principal benefactors. The institution is in a very flourishing state.

M A S S A C H U S E T T S

Extends from the ocean on the east, to the bounds of New-York, on the west; being about one hundred and fifty miles in length. It has Rhode-Island and Connecticut on the south, and New-Hampshire and Vermont on the north; being about sixty miles in breadth.

Its capital, Boston, contains two thousand two hundred houses, and about eighteen thousand inhabitants. It stands on a peninsula which is joined to the main land by a neck, about a mile in length, leading to Roxbury. On the opposite or north part of the town, a bridge, covering Charles river, leads from Boston to Charlestown. This bridge which was built by a company of gentlemen, in the years 1785 and 1786, is more than one thousand three hundred feet in length, and the noblest structure in America.

The harbor of Boston is capacious and safe. The principal wharf, which extends about two hundred yards into the sea, and is covered on one side, with large and convenient

convenient stores, far surpasses any thing of the kind in the United States.

About two miles from town, is the castle, which commands the entrance of the harbor. Here are mounted about forty heavy pieces of artillery, besides a large number of a smaller size. The fort is garrisoned by a company of soldiers, who also guard the convicts, that are sentenced to labor. These are all employed in making nails—a manufactory that is useful to the state.

On the west side of the town is the Mall, a very beautiful public walk, adorned with rows of trees, and in view of the common, which is always open to refreshing breezes from the sea.

Fifteen miles eastward of Boston, lies Salem, which contains seven hundred and thirty houses, and almost seven thousand inhabitants. Forty five miles from Boston lies Newbury-Port, near the mouth of Merrimak river; the harbor of which is safe, but of difficult entrance. This town contains nearly five hundred houses, and about five thousand inhabitants. These towns, with Cape Anne, and Marblehead, and Beverly, carry on the fishery, which furnishes the principal article of export in Massachusetts. The distance from Boston to Portsmouth, is sixty five miles.

The university of Cambridge, is the first literary institution on this continent. Its buildings are large and elegant—its library and philosophical apparatus, are the most complete of any in America. It is liberally endowed, and furnished with able professors in the principal branches of science. Its students are about one hundred and eighty.

R H O D E - I S L A N D State.

Includes the island of that name, and Providence plantations. It has Massachusetts on the north; Connecticut on the west; and the ocean upon the east and south.

The city of Newport, upon the island, contains nearly eight hundred houses, and but five thousand inhabitants.

tants; although before the war it contained nine thousand. Its harbor is one of the largest and safest in the world, and of easy entrance.

Providence, situated at the head of navigation, on a large river or arm of the sea, thirty miles from Newport, is at present in a flourishing condition. It contains almost six hundred houses. The business of this state consists principally in the whale fishing, and in the West India trade.

The college at Providence is a magnificent building, and stands upon the heights, east of the town, where it commands an extensive and beautiful prospect. It is an infant institution, and wants funds to support suitable professors.

C O N N E C T I C U T

Is bounded by Rhode-Island on the east, by Long-Island Sound on the south, by Massachusetts on the north, and New-York on the west. Its extent is about one hundred miles from east to west, and sixty from north to south.

Its two capital towns, Hartford and New-Haven are the seats of government. Part of these towns have been lately incorporated. The city of Hartford contains about three hundred houses; it is situated at the head of navigation, on Connecticut river, about forty miles from the sound. The city of New-Haven contains four hundred houses; it lies on the sea shore, about forty miles west from Connecticut river. It is one of the most regular and beautiful settlements in America: In the center of the city, there is a spacious green, three hundred yards square, adorned with a row of trees on every side.

On the west side of this square, and in an elevated situation stands Yale College, an institution founded in the year 1701, and which has produced a great number of distinguished literary characters. Its usual number of students is about one hundred and seventy.

The principal articles of export, are horses, cattle, ^{pro} vision

provision, and lumber, which are sold in the West India islands.

The inhabitants of New-England are mostly the descendants of the first English settlers. There are no French, Dutch, or Germans, and very few Scotch and Irish in New-England. The increase, almost solely by natural population, including Vermont, is almost a million of whites.

N E W - Y O R K State

Extends from the ocean to Lake Champlain and Canada, and comprehends about twenty miles on the east, and forty on the west of the river Hudson. It has Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont on the east, and New Jersey and Pennsylvania on the west.

The city of New-York is situated upon a peninsula, or rather upon an island; for the water flows around it, and it is connected with the continent by a small bridge only, called Kings-Bridge, fifteen miles from the city. The city contains nearly three thousand five hundred houses. It is an excellent situation for trade—having a safe spacious harbor, which is seldom or never obstructed by ice.

Hudson's river is navigable for ships of almost any size, to the city of Hudson, which is about one hundred and thirty miles from New-York—and small vessels go to Albany, thirty miles higher. Most of the trade on this river centers in New-York. The principal articles of exportation are wheat or flour, and lumber. New-York imports most of the European goods consumed in Connecticut, and this and the other New-England states, supply the New-York market with West India produce.

This state was settled first by the Dutch; and a very considerable part of the inhabitants are their descendants. The principal Dutch settlements are at New-York, Albany, Esopus, Claverak, and Senectady. Albany is the only city which exhibits the Gothic taste in building: It is almost the oldest town in America, and there are houses still standing, the bricks of which were brought

from

from Holland. It contains almost six hundred houses.

Long-Island also belongs to this state; although part of it formerly belonged to Connecticut, and was settled by the English. It extends from New-York eastward one hundred and twenty miles, and is generally twenty miles wide.

The college in New-York, called Columbia College, is well endowed and furnished with professors; but its students are not numerous.

N E W - J E R S E Y

Has the river Hudson and the ocean on the east, and the Delaware on the west. It extends from Cape May at the entrance of the Delaware on the south, to the limits of New-York state, west of the Hudson, about twenty miles from the mouth of that river.

There are no large towns in this state. Trenton, the present seat of government, contains nearly two hundred houses, and is pleasantly situated, near the Delaware, and thirty miles from Philadelphia.

Princeton, a delightful situation, forty-two miles from Philadelphia, is the seat of a college, called Nassau Hall; an institution, which has produced a great number of eminent scholars. Its students amount to about one hundred.

The inhabitants are mostly descendants of the English and Dutch.

P E N N S Y L V A N I A

Extends from the Delaware on the east, five degrees of longitude, or about three hundred and fifty miles west; and from Maryland on the south, to New-York on the north, about one hundred and fifty miles.

The inhabitants consist of English, Germans, Irish, and Scotch. The *Friends*, who were the first settlers, form a numerous and respectable body of its inhabitants.

The city of Philadelphia, is situate on the west bank of the

the Delaware, and extends, according to the plan, from Delaware to Skuylkill. The improved part of the city reaches only about half a mile from the Delaware, but along that river the buildings extend two miles, including Kensington and Southwark, which are the suburbs of the city.

It is the largest and most regular city in America. Its streets all cross each other at right angles, and form the whole city into squares.

Near the center is Market street, which is wider than the others, and contains the largest and best supplied market in America, or perhaps in the world.

The Statehouse is a magnificent structure, and the garden belonging it, has been lately improved and laid out in agreeable walks, for the recreation of the citizens.

The hospital, the poor house, and prison, the two former of brick, and the latter of stone, are noble buildings, and exceed any of the kind in this country. The new German reformed church, is the most magnificent structure of the kind in America, and was built at the expence of ten thousand pounds.

This city contains almost five thousand houses, and fifty thousand inhabitants. It is at the head of navigation, about one hundred and fifty miles from the mouth of the Delaware.

Lancaster, situated twelve miles from Susquehanna, and sixty six miles west of Philadelphia, is the largest inland town in America.

Besides the Delaware, this state boasts of the Skuylkill and the Su quehanna, a large and noble river which rises in the north western parts of New York, runs through Pennsylvania, forms a large tract of fertile meadow, and empties itself into Chesapeek Bay within the borders of Maryland.

The University of Pennsylvania is liberally endowed, furnished with able professors in the different branches of science. During the winter, students of physic resort hither from different parts of the country, to attend the medical lectures.

A College has lately been founded at Carlisle, west of Susquehanna, and one hundred and twenty miles from Philadelphia. It is called Dickenson College, in honor of the late President Dickenson and bids fair to be a very useful institution under its learned president Dr. Nesbit. Its students are nearly one hundred.

A German College has been lately founded at Lancaster; which is called Franklin, in honor of the great statesman and philosopher Dr. Franklin, one of its principal benefactors.

The Protestant Episcopal Academy, lately founded in Philadelphia, is incorporated and endowed. It consists of about one hundred and fifty scholars and bids fair to be a valuable institution.

Flour is the staple article of produce in Pennsylvania. This with many other valuable articles, and the trade of its neighboring states, enables Pennsylvania to carry on a very extensive commerce with foreign nations.

D E L A W A R E State

Comprehends three counties only, which extend from Pennsylvania to the entrance of the river Delaware, on the west bank of that river. The seat of government at present is Dover, a small inland town, on the peninsula, between the Delaware and Chesapeek. The largest town in the state, is Wilmington, a beautiful settlement, thirty miles below Philadelphia. It contains four hundred houses, well built, and in a very pleasant situation.

Its principal exports are flour and corn.

M A R Y L A N D

Is bounded by Pennsylvania on the north, by the ocean on the east, and by Virginia on the south and west. It is divided into two parts, called the eastern and western shores, by the great bay of Chesapeek.

The largest town in the state is Baltimore; which contains almost two hundred houses. It lies upon an arm of the Chesapeek, at a small distance from the mouth of

Petapsco

Petapsco river. It has one of the best harbors in America. From the head of Elk, which is at the head of the bay, to Baltimore, is about sixty miles.

The seat of government is Annapolis, thirty miles below Baltimore; a small city of about two hundred and sixty houses, but pleasantly situated on the bay. The houses are generally large and elegant—an indication of great wealth. The stadt-house is the noblest structure of the kind in America.

The principal rivers are, the Susquehanna which passes through the north part of the state, and the Potomak, which separates it from Virginia; which is one of the finest rivers on this continent.

There is a college founded upon the eastern shore, called *Washington college*, in honor of that illustrious character. A college is also to be erected on the western shore.

The staple commodity of this state is tobacco, of which great quantities are exported to Europe. The northern parts of the state also furnish great quantities of flour of an excellent quality. Corn is another considerable article of produce.

VIRGINIA.

This state is bounded by the Atlantic on the east; by Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the Ohio on the north; by the Mississippi and Ohio on the west, and by North Carolina on the south. Its extent east and west, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi is 758 miles—its breath is about 200 miles. It contains 121,525 square miles, which are one third more than are contained in Great Britain and Ireland.

The eastern part of this state is penetrated by the Chesapeake, which leaves three counties on the eastern shore, between the Atlantic and the bay.

Virginia boasts of some of the largest and noblest rivers in America. On the north, the Potomak which divides the state from Maryland, rises in the Allegany mountains,

bends its course south east and falls into the Chesapeek. It is more than seven miles wide at its mouth. It has eighteen feet water to Alexandria, about one hundred and fifty miles from its mouth; and ten feet to Georgetown, eight miles higher. About five miles above are the falls, which obstruct the navigation, for fifteen miles.

The Rappahannok is a smaller river, but affords twelve feet water to Fredericksburg, just below the falls.

York river furnishes, at York town, a few miles from its mouth, the best harbor in the state for vessels of a large size. It holds four fathom water, twenty five miles above York town. It is formed by the confluence of two rivers *Pamunkey* and *Mattaponi*; both of which are navigable for boats at some distance from their junction.

James river admits vessels of two hundred and fifty tons burthen to Warwick, and of one hundred and twenty five tons to Richmond about ninety miles from its mouth. It receives the *Appamattocks*, which affords navigation for small vessels to Petersburg. Just above Richmond are the falls where the water descends eighty feet, within six miles; above which, the river is navigable for canoes, almost to the Blue Ridge.

Nansemond and *Chikahominy* afford water for small vessels, several miles into the country.

Elisabeth river affords an excellent harbor and large enough for three hundred ships. At Norfolk it has eighteen feet water at common flood tide.

The *Roanoke* runs through a part of Virginia, and is navigable for boats.

On the west of the Allegany mountains, are the great and little *Kanhaway*, which rise in the mountains, and run north west into the Ohio.—

The *Monongahela* is one principal branch of the Ohio. The source of this river is separated from the Potomak by the Allegany Ridge. The distance is about forty miles.

The river *Allegany* is the other principal branch of the Ohio.

Ohio. The head of this river is but fifteen miles distant from *Presque Isle* on Lake Erie.

The rivers *Cumberland*, *Cherokee*, and *Kentucky*, water the western part of Virginia and furnish navigation for batteaux into the heart of the country. They fall into the Ohio.

The towns in Virginia are not large; the people mostly residing on their plantations.—

Alexandria, situated near the head of navigation on the Potomak; contains about three hundred houses, and is a place of great trade.

Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock, contains about two hundred houses, and is a place of business.

Richmond, at the head of navigation on James river, and the seat of government, contains about three hundred houses.

Petersburg, twenty seven miles below Richmond, contains about the same number of houses, and is a place of great trade. Twenty four thousand hogsheads of tobacco have been shipped in a year from this single port.

Norfolk was a well built town, but was laid in ashes by the British troops, during the late war. It is partly rebuilt, and is the center of business in the state.

Williamsburg was formerly a flourishing and beautiful town. It contained about two hundred and fifty houses, and was the seat of government.

The principal street is one mile in length on a plain, with the college at one end and the capitol or state house, at the other, exhibiting a pleasant prospect. But since the seat of government has been fixed at Richmond, the city has decayed. Williamsburg is the seat of a university, but the institution is not in a flourishing state.

The large and numerous rivers which water Virginia are very favorable for commerce. The principal article of exportation is tobacco, of which about 60,000 hogsheads are exported annually. Wheat is also raised in abundance, especially in the mountainous parts of the state. Corn is the principal article of food for the negroes, yet a surplus is raised for exportation.

Nine miles below Alexandria, upon the bank of the Potomak, is Mount Vernon, the seat of the illustrious Washington. His house is ancient, but magnificent. It stands upon a bend of the river, about fifty yards from the water, and commands an extensive and most agreeable prospect. On the other side, in front of the house, is a spacious bowling green, with serpentine roads on each side, adorned with rows of trees. On the right and left of these are his gardens, abounding with every thing convenient and ornamental.

N O R T H - C A R O L I N A

Is bounded by Virginia on the north, by the ocean on the east, by South-Carolina on the south, and by the Mississippi on the west.

The land for one hundred and thirty miles from the sea, is flat, sandy, and barren, except near the rivers; but the high lands are fertile.

The navigation of this state is difficult and dangerous, by reason of the bars at the entrance of their rivers, and the flatness of the country.

The principal towns are Newbern, Halifax, Edenton, Wilmington, Fayetteville and Hillsborough. The principal rivers are, the Roanoke, which rises in the mountains of Virginia, and, running south-east through a part of North-Carolina, discharges itself into Albemarle sound. The Neus, which is navigable to Newbern; and Cape Fear river, navigable for vessels of burden to Wilmington.

The principal exports of this state are pitch, turpentine and lumber. The western parts of the state produce tobacco, corn, and wheat, which find a market in Virginia and South-Carolina.

S O U T H - C A R O L I N A

Has North-Carolina on the north, the ocean on the east, Georgia on the south, and the Mississippi on the west.

The

The city of Charleston, the capital, contains about one thousand six hundred houses. It is situated between the two rivers, Ashly and Cooper, the confluence of which forms the harbor. It is regular and well built.

The land, more than one hundred miles from the sea, is level; but it is generally good, and makes excellent rice and indigo. The high lands in the back country produce corn and wheat.

The principal article of exportation is rice; of which sixty-six thousand barrels were shipped in 1786. Indigo, deer skins, and lumber, are also very considerable articles of trade.

A college has been lately established at Winnborough, 130 miles from Charleston; and a company of gentlemen have been incorporated, by the name of the "Mount Sion Society," for the purpose of promoting literature. Many gentlemen, however, both in Carolina and the other southern states, send their sons to Princeton college, or other northern universities; and some to Europe.

G E O R G I A

Is the most southern of the United States. It is bounded by the river Savanna, which divides it from South-Carolina on the north; by the ocean on the east; by the river St. Mary's, which divides it from the Floridas, on the south; and by the Mississippi on the west. Its extent on the sea shore is about one hundred and thirty miles, and from the ocean to the Mississippi about seven hundred miles. Its rivers are the Savanna, Ogeechee, Altamaha, the two Satillas, Turtle river, and St. Mary's.

Savannah, its principal town, is situated on the river of that name, seventeen miles from the sea, and contains about two hundred houses.

Augusta, situated at the head of the navigation on the same river, one hundred and thirty four miles from the sea, is nearly the size of Savannah. It is the seat of government.

The principal exports of the state are lumber, rice, indigo, and tobacco. Georgia is also an excellent grazing country, and furnishes great quantities of beef. The land is fertile, and the climate, in the highlands very healthy.

Georgia is yet an infant settlement; but bids fair to be a populous and flourishing state, under the influence of its wise and liberal policy. The plan of a university lately adopted there is novel; but seems calculated to produce the most salutary effects. The literary gentlemen throughout the state are combined, and incorporated for the purpose of superintending the literature of the state. They are to be governed by certain laws of their own making—and have the power of making such regulations as they think necessary respecting colleges, academies, and schools. An annual meeting of the whole society is to be held; in which laws shall be made, and degrees conferred upon such students in any of the academies, as shall be deemed qualified. A diploma entitles any citizen of the state to be a member of the university.

The designs of the institution, is to render the system of education uniform throughout the state; and to effect this purpose, the university determine that only one kind of books, in any science, shall be used in all the academies, and schools in the state.

The funds of this institution are forty thousand acres of land; a thousand pounds in each county; with all the monies and lands granted for the support of schools before the revolution.

Such a plan of education, which excludes the principles of dissention, and combines the leading men of the state in the same society, constitutes the firmest basis of political and religious harmony.

VERMONT.

The tract of country called *Vermont*, has Connecticut river on the east, Massachusetts on the south, New-York and Lake Champlain on the west, and Canada on the north,

north. It is about one hundred and fifty miles in length from north to south ; and fifty in breadth from east to west. The right to it was before the war, claimed both by New-Hampshire and New-York. When hostilities commenced between Great Britain and America, the inhabitants, considering themselves as in a state of nature, without government, and not within any legal jurisdiction, associated, and formed a constitution of civil government. Under this constitution they exercised all the powers of an independent sovereign state. Some attempts were made by New-York to prevent the establishment of their independence ; and the claims of the contending parties were once submitted to Congress. But either through neglect, jealousy, or design, in one or both parties, the question was never brought to a federal decision ; but New York has lately passed an act, renouncing all claims to Vermont, and empowering their delegates in Congress to concur in declaring it an independent state, and annexing it to the confederation.

Vermont is rapidly settling by emigrations from the New-England states, as well as by natural population. Its present inhabitants may be fifty thousand. Its soil is generally fertile ; producing wheat, corn, and grass in abundance. It is covered with excellent timber. Its inhabitants are, as is common in new settlements, hardy and industrious ; and during the late war, when the state was a frontier, they distinguished themselves by their bravery ; particularly in the battle at Bennington. Its north western boundary is Lake Champlain, which communicates with the St. Lawrence. By this conveyance on the north, by Hudson's river, which is but twenty miles from the line, on the south west, and by Connecticut river on the east, this state is supplied with foreign commodities, and finds a market for its own produce.

This state is divided by a large mountain, running from north to south, through the whole state, called the *Green Mountain*, which gives the state its name *.

Bennington.

* *Ver mons*, a Green Mountain,

Bennington, a well built town on the western border of the state, stands in an elevated situation, and is the present seat of government.

Vermont conducted its military operations, during the war, independent of the United States—raised and paid its own troops—emitted and redeemed bills of credit, and paid its own debts.

ENGLISH PROVINCES.

Canada, on the north of the United States, is a large country, originally settled by the French, but conquered by the English, who have held possession of it ever since. The English governor resides at Quebec, a large well fortified town on the St. Lawrence. The principal articles of trade are furs and skins.

Nova Scotia belongs also to the English. It is generally a barren country, but commands the entrance into Canada, and affords many advantages in carrying on the fishery. The metropolis is Halifax.

SPANISH PROVINCES.

The two Floridas are Spanish provinces, on the south of the United States. They extend from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. St. Augustine, the capital of East Florida, lies upon the Atlantic; and Pensacola, the capital of West Florida, is situated upon a small bay in the gulf of Mexico.

One of the Floridas was conquered and taken from the English by Spain during the late war; and the other was given up by treaty, at the peace in 1783.

C H A P. XXVII.

*A SKETCH of the HISTORY of the late WAR
in AMERICA.*

THE attempts of the British parliament to raise a revenue in America, without her consent, occasioned the late war, which separated this country from Great Britain.

The first attempt of consequence was the famous *Stamp Act*, March, 1765. By this, the Americans were obliged to make use of stamped paper, for all notes, bonds, and other legal instruments; on which paper, a duty was to be paid.

This act occasioned such general uneasiness in America, that the parliament thought proper to repeal it, the year after it was made.

But the next year (1767), the *Tea-Act* was framed, by which a heavy duty was laid upon tea, glass, paper, and many other articles, which were much used in America. This threw the colonies into confusion, and excited such resentment among the people, that the parliament three years after, took off three fourths of the duty.

The duty was still disagreeable to the Americans, who entered into resolutions not to import and consume British manufactures.

A few years after, (in 1773), the people of Boston, who were determined not to pay duties on tea, went on board some ships, belonging to the East-India company, which lay in the harbor, and threw all the tea overboard. In other parts of America, violent opposition was made to British taxation.

This opposition enkindled the resentment of the British parliament, which they expressed the next year (1774) by shutting the port of Boston, which ruined the trade of that flourishing town. This act was followed by others, by which the constitution of Massachusetts was new-modelled, and the liberties of the people infringed.

These

These rash and cruel measures, gave great and universal alarm to the Americans. General Gage was sent to Boston, to enforce the new laws; but he was received with coldness, and opposed with spirit, in the execution of his commission.

The assemblies throughout America, remonstrated and petitioned. At the same time, many contributions of money and provisions from every quarter, were sent to the inhabitants of Boston, who were suffering in consequence of the port-bill.

The same year, troops arrived in Boston, to enforce the wicked and unjust acts of the British parliament. Fortifications were erected on Boston neck, by order of general Gage; and the ammunition and stores in Cambridge and Charlestown, were seized and secured.

In September, deputies from most of the colonies, met in Congress at Philadelphia. These delegates approved of the conduct of the people in Massachusetts; wrote a letter to general Gage; published a declaration of rights; formed an association not to import, or use British goods; sent a petition to the king of Great Britain; an address to the inhabitants of that kingdom; another to the inhabitants of Canada; and another, to the inhabitants of the colonies.

In the beginning of the next year, (1775), was passed the *Fishery-Bill*, by which the northern colonies were forbid to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, for a certain time. This bore hard upon the commerce of these colonies, which was in a great measure, supported by the fishery. Soon after, another bill was passed, which restrained the trade of the middle and southern colonies, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, except under certain conditions. These repeated acts of oppression on the part of Great Britain, alienated the affections of America from her parent and sovereign, and produced a combined opposition to the whole system of taxation.

Preparations began to be made, to oppose by force, the execution of these acts of parliament. The militia

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of the country were trained to the use of arms—great encouragement was given for the manufacture of gunpowder, and measures were taken to obtain all kinds of military stores.

In February, colonel Leslie was sent with a detachment of troops from Boston, to take possession of some cannon at Salem. But the people had intelligence of the design—took up the draw-bridge in that town, and prevented the troops from passing, untill the cannon were secured; so that the expedition failed.

In April, colonel Smith, and major Pitcairn were sent with a body of troops, to destroy the military stores which had been collected at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston. At Lexington, the militia were collected on a green, to oppose the incursion of the British forces. These were fired upon by the British troops, and eight men killed on the spot.

The militia were dispersed, and the troops proceeded to Concord; where they destroyed a few stores. But on their return, they were incessantly harrassed by the Americans, who inflamed with just resentment, fired upon them from houses and fences, and pursued them to Boston.

Here was spilt the *first blood* in the late war; a war which severed America from the British empire. *Lexington* opened the first scene of the great drama, which, in its progress, exhibited the most illustrious characters and events, and closed with a revolution, equally glorious for the actors, and important in its consequences to the human race.

This battle roused all America. The militia collected from all quarters, and Boston, was in a few days, besieged by twenty thousand men. A stop was put to all intercourse between the town and country, and the inhabitants were reduced to great want of provisions. General Gage promised to let the people depart, if they would deliver up their arms. The people complied, but when the general had obtained their arms, the perfidious wretch, refused to let the people go.

In the mean time, a small number of men, under the command of colonel Allen, and colonel Easton, without any public orders, surprized and took the British garrison at Ticonderoga, without the loss of a man.

In June following, our troops attempted to fortify Bunker's hill, which lies near Charlestown, and but a mile and an half from Boston. They had, during the night, thrown up a small breast-work, which sheltered them from the fire of the British cannon. But the next morning, the British army was sent to drive them from the hill, and landing under cover of their cannon, they set fire to Charlestown, which was consumed, and marched to attack our troops in the entrenchments. A severe engagement ensued, in which the British suffered a very great loss, both of officers and privates. They were repulsed at first, and thrown into disorder; but they finally carried the fortification, with the point of the bayonet. The Americans suffered a small loss, compared with the British; but the death of the brave general Warren, who fell in the action, a martyr to the cause of his country, was severely felt, and universally lamented.

About this time, the Continental Congress appointed George Washington esq. a native of Virginia, to the chief command of the American army. This gentleman had been a distinguished and successful officer in the preceding war, and he seemed destined by heaven to be the savior of his country. He accepted the appointment with a diffidence which was a proof of his prudence and his greatness. He refused any pay for eight years laborious and arduous service; and by his matchless skill, fortitude and perseverance, conducted America through indescribable difficulties, to independence and peace.

While true merit is esteemed, or virtue honored, mankind will never cease to revere the memory of this Hero; and while gratitude remains in the human breast, the praises of WASHINGTON shall dwell on every American tongue.

Gen. Washington, with other officers appointed by Congress, arrived at Cambridge, and took command of

the

the American army in July. From this time, the affairs of America began to assume the appearance of a regular and general opposition to the forces of Great Britain.

In Autumn, a body of troops, under the command of Gen. Montgomery, besieged and took the garrison at St. John's, which commands the entrance into Canada. The prisoners amounted to about seven hundred. Gen. Montgomery pursued his success, and took Montreal; and designed to push his victories to Quebec.

A body of troops, commanded by Arnold, was ordered to march to Canada, by the river Kennebek, and through the wilderness. After suffering every hardship, and the most distressing hunger, they arrived in Canada, and were joined by Gen. Montgomery, before Quebec. This city which was commanded by Gov. Carleton, was immediately besieged. But there being little hope of taking the town by a siege, it was determined to storm it.

The attack was made on the last day of December, but proved unsuccessful, and fatal to the brave General, who with his aid, was killed, in attempting to scale the walls.

Of the three divisions which attacked the town, one only entered, and that was obliged to surrender to superior force. After this defeat, Arnold, who now commanded the troops, continued some months before Quebec, although his troops suffered incredibly by cold and sickness. But the next spring, the Americans were obliged to retreat from Canada.

About this time, the large and flourishing town of Norfolk in Virginia, was wantonly burnt by order of lord Dunmore, the royal governor.

Gen. Gage went to England in September, and was succeeded in the command, by Gen. Howe.

Falmouth, a considerable town in the province of Main in Massachusetts, shared the fate of Norfolk; being laid in ashes by order of the British admiral.

The British King entered into treaties with some of the German Princes for about seventeen thousand men, who were to be sent to America the next year, to assist in subduing the colonies. The British parliament also

passed an act, forbidding all intercourse with America; and while they repealed the Boston-port and fishery bills, they declared all American property on the high seas, forfeited to the captors. This act induced Congress to change the mode of carrying on the war; and measures were taken to annoy the enemy in Boston. For this purpose, batteries were opened on several hills, from whence shot and bombs were thrown into the town. But the batteries which were opened on Dorchester-point had the best effect and soon obliged general Howe to abandon the town. In March 1776, the British troops embarked for Halifax, and general Washington entered the town in triumph.

In the ensuing summer, a small squadron of ships commanded by Sir Peter Parker, and a body of troops under the generals Clinton and Cornwallis, attempted to take Charleston, the capital of South Carolina. The ships made a violent attack upon the fort on Sullivan's Island, but were repulsed with great loss, and the expedition was abandoned.

In July, Congress published their declaration of independence, which for ever separated America from Great Britain. This great event took place two hundred and eighty four years after the first discovery of America by Columbus—one hundred and seventy, from the first effectual settlement in Virginia—and one hundred and fifty six from the first settlement of Plymouth in Massachusetts, which were the earliest English settlements in America.

Just after this declaration, general Howe with a powerful force arrived near New-York; and landed the troops upon Staten Island. General Washington was in New-York with about thirteen thousand men, encamped either in the city or the neighboring fortifications.

The operations of the British began by the action on Long Island, in the month of August. The Americans were defeated, and general Sullivan and lord Stirling, with a large body of men, were made prisoners. The night after the engagement, a retreat was ordered, and executed

executed with such silence, that the Americans left the island without alarming their enemies, and without loss.

In September the city of New-York was abandoned by the American army, and taken by the British.

In November, Fort Washington on York Island was taken, and more than two thousand men made prisoners. Fort Lee, opposite to Fort Washington, on the Jersey shore, was soon after taken, but the garrison escaped.

About the same time, general Clinton was sent with a body of troops to take possession of Rhode Island; and succeeded. In addition to all these losses and defeats, the American army suffered by desertion, and more by sickness, which was epidemic, and very mortal.

The northern army at Ticonderoga, was in a disagreeable situation, particularly, after the battle on lake Champlain, in which the American force consisting of a few light vessels, under the command of Arnold, and general Waterbury, was totally dispersed. But general Carleton, instead of pursuing his victory, landed at Crown Point, reconnoitered our posts at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and returned to winter quarters in Canada.

At the close of this year, the American army was dwindle'd to a handful of men; and general Lee was taken prisoner in New-Jersey. Far from being discouraged at these losses, Congress took measures to raise and establish an army.

In this critical situation, general Washington, surpriz'd and took a large body of Hessians, who were cantoned at Trenton; and soon after, another body of the British troops at Princeton. The address in planning and executing these enterprizes, reflected the highest honor on the commander, and the success revived the desponding hopes of America. The loss of general Mercer, a gallant officer, at Princeton, was the principal circumstance that allayed the joys of victory.

The following year 1777, was distinguished by very memorable events, in favor of America. On the opening of the campaign, governor Tryon was sent with a body,

body of troops, to destroy the stores at Danbury, in Connecticut. This plan was executed, and the town mostly burnt. The enemy suffered in their retreat, and the Americans lost general Wooster, a brave and experienced officer.

General Prescot was taken from his quarters, on Rhode Island, by the address and enterprize of colonel Barton, and conveyed prisoner to the continent.

Gen. Burgoyne, who commanded the northern British army, took possession of Ticonderoga, which had been abandoned by the Americans. He pushed his successes, crossed Lake George, and encamped upon the banks of the Hudson, near Saratoga. His progress however was checked, by the defeat of colonel Baum, near Bennington, in which the undisciplined militia of Vermont, under general Stark, displayed unexampled bravery, and captured almost the whole detachment.

The militia assembled from all parts of New-England, to stop the progress of general Burgoyne.

These, with the regular troops, formed a respectable army, commanded by general Gates. After two severe actions, in which the generals Lincoln and Arnold, behaved with uncommon gallantry, and were wounded, Gen. Burgoyne found himself enclosed with brave troops, and was forced to surrender his whole army, amounting to ten thousand men, into the hands of the Americans. This happened in October.

This event diffused an universal joy over America, and laid a foundation for the treaty with France.

But before these transactions, the main body of the British forces had embarked at New-York, sailed up the Chesapeek, and landed at the head of Elk river. The army soon began their march for Philadelphia. General Washington had determined to oppose them, and for this purpose made a stand upon the heights, near Brandywine creek. Here the armies engaged, and the Americans were overpowered, and suffered great loss. The enemy soon pursued their march, and took possession of Philadelphia, towards the close of September.

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Not long after, the two armies were again engaged at Germantown, and in the beginning of the action, the Americans had the advantage; but by some unlucky accident, the fortune of the day was turned in favor of the British. Both sides suffered considerable losses; on the side of the Americans, was general Nash.

In an attack upon the forts at Mud-Island and Red Bank, the Hessians were unsuccessful, and their commander, colonel Donop, killed. The British also lost the Augusta, a ship of the line. But the forts were afterwards taken, and the navigation of the Delaware opened. General Washington was reinforced, with part of the troops, which had composed the northern army, under general Gates; and both armies retired to winter quarters.

In October, the same month in which general Burgoyne was taken at Saratoga, general Vaughan, with a small fleet, sailed up Hudson's river, and wantonly burnt Kingston, a beautiful Dutch settlement, on the west side of the river.

The beginning of the next year 1778, was distinguished by a treaty of alliance between France and America; by which we obtained a powerful and generous ally. When the English ministry were informed that this treaty was on foot, they dispatched commissioners to America, to attempt a reconciliation. But America would not now accept their offers. Early in the spring, Count de Estaing, with a fleet of fifteen sail of the line, was sent by the court of France, to assist America.

General Howe left the army, and returned to England; the command then devolved upon Sir Henry Clinton. In June the British army left Philadelphia, and marched for New-York. On their march they were annoyed by the Americans; and at Monmouth, a very regular action took place, between part of the armies; the enemy were repulsed with great loss, and had general Lee obeyed his orders, a signal victory must have been obtained. General Lee, for his ill conduct that day, was

suspended, and was never afterwards permitted to join the army.

In August general Sullivan, with a large body of troops, attempted to take possession of Rhode-Island, but did not succeed. Soon after the stores and shipping at Bedford in Massachusetts, were burnt by a party of the British troops. The same year, Savanna, the capital of Georgia, was taken by the British, under the command of colonel Campbell.

In the following year ('779), general Lincoln was appointed to the command of the southern army.

Governor Tryon and Sir George Collier made an incursion into Connecticut, and burnt, with wanton barbarity, the towns of Fairfield and Norwalk. But the American arms were crowned with success, in a bold attack upon Stoney Point, which was surprized and taken by general Wayne, in the night of the 15th of July. Five hundred men were made prisoners, with a small loss on either side.

A party of British forces attempted this summer, to build a fort, on Penobscot river, for the purpose of cutting timber in the neighboring forests. A plan was laid by Massachusetts to dislodge them, and a considerable fleet collected for the purpose. But the plan failed of success, and the whole marine force fell into the hands of the British, except some vessels which were burnt by the Americans themselves.

In October, general Lincoln and Count de Estaing made an assault upon Savanna; but they were repulsed with considerable loss. In this action, the celebrated Polish Count Pulaski, who had acquired the reputation of a brave soldier, was mortally wounded.

In this summer, general Sullivan marched with a body of troops, into the Indian country, and burnt and destroyed all their provisions and settlements, that fell in their way.

On the opening of the campaign, the next year, (1780) the British troops left Rhode Island. An expedition under Gen. Clinton and Lord Cornwallis, was undertaken

ken against Charleston, South Carolina, where General Lincoln commanded. This town, after a close siege of about six weeks, was surrendered to the British commander; and General Lincoln, and the whole American garrison, were made prisoners.

Gen. Gates was appointed to the command in the southern department, and another army collected. In August, Lord Cornwallis attacked the American troops at Camden, in South Carolina, and routed them with considerable loss. He afterwards marched through the southern states, and supposed them entirely subdued.

The same summer, the British troops made frequent incursions from New-York into the Jerseys; ravaging and plundering the country. In some of these descents, the rev. Mr. Caldwell, a respectable clergyman and warm patriot, and his lady, were inhumanly murdered by the savage soldiery.

In July, a French fleet, under Monsieur d'Ternay, with a body of land forces, commanded by Count de Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode-Island, to the great joy of the Americans.

This year was also distinguished by the infamous treason of Arnold. General Washington having some business to transact at Wethersfield in Connecticut, left Arnold to command the important post of Westpoint, which guards a pass in Hudson's river, about sixty miles from New-York. Arnold's conduct in the city of Philadelphia, the preceding winter, had been censured; and the treatment he received in consequence, had given him offence.

He determined to take revenge; and for this purpose, he entered into a negociation with Sir Henry Clinton, to deliver Westpoint, and the army, into the hands of the British. While General Washington was absent, he dismounted the cannon in some of the forts, and took other steps to render the taking of the post easy for the enemy.

But by a providential discovery, the whole plan was defeated. Major Andre, aid to general Clinton, a brave officer,

officer, who had been sent up the river as a spy, to concert the plan of operations with Arnold, was taken, condemned by a court martial, and executed. Arnold made his escape, by getting on board the Vulture, a British vessel, which lay in the river. His conduct has stamped him with infamy; and, like all traitors, he is despised by all mankind. General Washington arrived in camp just after Arnold had made his escape, and restored order in the garrison.

After the defeat of general Gates in Carolina, general Greene was appointed to the command in the southern department. From this period, things in that quarter wore a more favorable aspect. Colonel Tarleton, the active commander of the British legion, was defeated by general Morgan, the intrepid commander of the rifle men.

After a variety of movements, the two armies met at Guilford, in North Carolina. Here was one of the best fought actions during the war. General Greene and Lord Cornwallis exerted themselves at the head of their respective armies, and although the Americans were obliged to retire from the field of battle, yet the British army suffered an immense loss, and could not pursue the victory. This action happened on the 15th of March 1781.

In the spring, Arnold, who was made a brigadier-general in the British service, with a small number of troops, sailed for Virginia, and plundered the country. This called the attention of the French fleet to that quarter; and a naval engagement took place between the English and French, in which some of the English ships were much damaged, and one entirely disabled.

After the battle of Guilford, general Greene moved towards South Carolina, to drive the British from their posts in that state. Here lord Rawdon obtained an inconsiderable advantage over the Americans, near Camden. But general Green more than recovered this disadvantage, by the brilliant and successful action at the Eutaw Springs; where general Marion distinguished himself,

self, and the brave colonel Washington was wounded and taken prisoner.

Lord Cornwallis, finding general Greene successful in Carolina, marched to Virginia, collected his forces, and fortified himself in Yorktown. In the mean time Arnold made an incursion into Connecticut, burnt a part of New London, took Fort Griswold by storm, and put the garrison to the sword. The garrison consisted chiefly of men suddenly collected from the little town of Groton, which, by the savage cruelty of the British officer who commanded the attack, lost, in one hour, almost all its heads of families. The brave colonel Ledyard, who commanded the fort, was slain with his own sword, after he had surrendered.

The marquis de la Fayette, the brave and generous nobleman, whose services command the gratitude of every American, had been dispatched from the main army, to watch the motions of lord Cornwallis in Virginia.

About the last of August, count de Graffe arrived with a large fleet in the Chesapeek, and blocked up the British troops at Yorktown. Admiral Greaves, with a British fleet, appeared off the capes, and an action succeeded; but it was not decisive.

General Washington had before this time moved the main body of his army, together with the French troops, to the southward; and as soon as he heard of the arrival of the French fleet in the Chesapeek, he made rapid marches to the head of Elk, where embarking, the troops soon arrived at Yorktown.

A close siege immediately commenced, and was carried on with such vigour, by the combined forces of America and France, that lord Cornwallis was obliged to surrender. This glorious event which took place on the 19th of October 1781, decided the contest in favor of America; and laid the foundation of a general peace.

A few months after the surrender of Cornwallis, the British evacuated all their posts in South Carolina and Georgia, and retired to the main army in New-York.

The next spring (1782) Sir Guy Carleton arrived in New-

New-York, and took command of the British army in America. Immediately on his arrival, he acquainted general Washington and Congress, that negotiations for a peace had been commenced at Paris.

On the 30th of November 1782, the provisional articles of peace were signed at Paris; by which Great Britain acknowledged the independence and sovereignty of the United States of America.

Thus ended a long and arduous conflict, in which Great Britain expended near a hundred millions of money, with an hundred thousand lives, and won nothing but disgrace. America endured every cruelty and distress from her enemies—lost many lives and much treasure—but delivered herself from a foreign dominion, and gained a rank among the nations of the earth.

C H A P. XXVIII.

An ACCOUNT of the most remarkable BATTLES fought in America during the late War.

Battle of Bunker's-Hill, June 17th, 1775.

THE post of Charlestown had hitherto been neglected by both parties. The Americans thought it necessary for them, whether they should choose to act on the defensive or offensive. They accordingly made the necessary preparations, and sent a body of men thither at night with the greatest privacy, to throw up works upon Bunker's-Hill, an high ground that lies just within the isthmus, or neck of land that joins the peninsula to the continent.

The party that was sent upon this service, carried on their works with such extraordinary order and silence, that though the peninsula was surrounded with ships of war, they were not heard during the night, and used such incredible dispatch in the execution, that they had a small but strong redoubt, considerable entrenchments, and

a breast-work, that was in some parts cannon proof, far advanced towards completion, by the break of day. The sight of the works, was the first notice that alarmed the Lively man of war early in the morning, and her guns called the town, camp, and fleet, to behold a sight that seemed little less than a prodigy.

A heavy and continual fire of cannon, howitzers, and mortars, was from thence carried on upon the works, from the ships, floating batteries, and from the top of Cop's-Hill in Boston. Such a great and incessant roar of artillery, would have been a trial to the firmness of old soldiers, and must undoubtedly have greatly impeded the completion of the works; it is however certain, that they bore this severe fire with wonderful firmness, and seemed to go on with their business as if no enemy had been near, nor danger in the service.

About noon, general Gage caused a considerable body of troops to be embarked under the command of major-general Howe, and brigadier-general Pigot, to drive the Americans from their works. This detachment consisted of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, and the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions, with proper artillery, who were landed and drawn up without opposition, unde the fire of the ships of war. The two generals found the enemy so numerous, and in such a posture of defence, that they thought it necessary to send back for a reinforcement before they began the attack; they were accordingly joined by some companies of light infantry and grenadiers, by the 47th regiment, and by the first battalion of marines, amounting in the whole, as represented by general Gage's letter, to something more than two thousand men.

The attack was begun by a most severe fire of cannon and howitzers, under which the troops advanced very slowly towards the enemy, and halted several times, to afford an opportunity to the artillery to ruin the works, and throw the Americans into confusion. Whatever it proceeded from, whether from the number, situation, or from all together, the king's forces seem to have been unusually

unusually staggered in this attack. The Americans flood this severe and continual fire of small arms and artillery, with a resolution and perseverance, which would not have done discredit to old troops. They did not return a shot, until the king's forces had approached almost to the works, when a most dreadful fire took place, by which a number of the bravest men and officers fell. Some gentlemen, who had served in the most distinguished actions of the last war, declared, that for the time it lasted, it was the hottest engagement they ever knew. It is then no wonder, if under so heavy and destructive a fire, the British were thrown into disorder. It is said, that general Howe, was for a few seconds left nearly alone; and it is certain, that most of the officers near his person, were either killed or wounded. It is said, that in this critical moment, general Clinton, who arrived in Boston during the engagement, by a happy manœuvre rallied the troops almost instantaneously, and brought them again to the charge. They attacked the works with fixed bayonets, and forced them in every quarter. Though many of the Americans were destitute of bayonets, and, as they affirm, their ammunition was expended, a number of them fought desperately within the works, and were not driven from them without difficulty. They at length retreated over Charlestown neck, which was enfiladed by the guns of the Glasgow man of war, and of two floating batteries. They suffered but little loss from this formidable artillery, though the dread of it had prevented some regiments who were ordered to support them from fulfilling their duty.

Thus ended the hot and bloody affair of Bunker's-Hill, in which the British had more men and officers killed and wounded, in proportion to the numbers engaged, than in any other action which we can recollect. The battle of Quebec, in the late war, with all its glory, and the vastness of the consequences of which it was productive, was not so destructive to the officers as this affair of an entrenchment cast up in a few hours. The loss of the Americans according to an account published

by

by the American Congress, was comparatively small, amounting to about four hundred and fifty killed, wounded, missing, and prisoners. The loss that was lamented most was that of Dr. Warren, who acting as a major-general, commanded the party upon this occasion, and was killed, fighting bravely at their head, in a little redoubt to the right of the lines. This gentleman, who was rendered conspicuous by his general merit, abilities, and eloquence, had been one of the delegates to the first Congress, and was at this time president of the Provincial Congress; but quitting the peaceable walk of his profession as a physician, and breaking through the endearing ties of family satisfactions, he shewed himself equally calculated for the field, and for public business or private study, and shed his blood gallantly in the service of his country.

ATTACK upon QUEBEC.

Philadelphia, January 25, 1776.

The last letters from Canada bring an account of an unsuccessful attempt made to gain possession of Quebec by storm, on the 31st of December last, between the hours of two and seven in the morning.

The general, finding his cannon too light to effect a breach, and that the enemy would not hearken to terms of capitulation, formed a design for carrying the town by escalade. In this he was encouraged by the extensiveness of the works, and the weakness of the garrison. When every thing was prepared, while he was waiting the opportunity of a snow storm, to carry his design into execution, several men deserted to the enemy. His plan at first was to have attacked the upper and lower town at the same time, depending principally for success against the upper town: But discovering, from the motions of the enemy, that they were apprized of his design, he altered his plan; and, having divided his little army into four detachments, ordered two feints to be made against

the upper town, one by colonel Livingston, at the head of the Canadians, against St. John's Gate; the other by captain Brown, at the head of a small detachment, against Cape Diamond, reserving to himself and colonel Arnold, the two principal attacks against the lower town.

At five o'clock, the hour appointed for the attack, the general at the head of the New-York troops, advanced against the lower town at Aunce de Mere. Being obliged to take a circuit, the signal for the attack was given, and the garrison alarmed before he reached the place; however, pressing on, he passed the first barrier, and was just opening to attempt the second, when by the first fire from the enemy he was unfortunately killed, together with his aid-de-camp, captain John M'Pherson, captain Cheeseman, and two or three more. This so dispirited the men, that colonel Campbell, on whom the command devolved, found himself under the disagreeable necessity of drawing them off.

In the mean while colonel Arnold, at the head of about three hundred and fifty of those brave troops (who with unparalleled fatigue had penetrated Canada under his command) and captain Lamb's artillery, had passed through St. Roques, and approached near a two gun battery without being discovered. This he attacked, and though it was well defended for about an hour, carried it with the loss of a number of men. In this attack colonel Arnold had the misfortune to have his leg splintered by a shot, and was obliged to be carried to the hospital. After gaining the battery, his detachment passed on to a second barrier, which they took possession of. By this time the enemy, relieved from the other attacks, by our troops being drawn off, directed their whole force against this detachment, and a party sallying out from Palace-Gate, attacked them in the rear.

These brave men sustained the force of the whole garrison for three hours, but finding themselves hemmed in, and no hopes of relief, they were obliged to yield to numbers, and the advantageous situation the garrison had over them.

No regular return is yet come to hand, but, by the advices received, we learn that our loss in killed and wounded amounts to sixty, and three hundred taken prisoners, who are treated very humanely.

Among the slain, are captain Kendricks and lieutenant Humphries, of the riflemen, and lieutenant Cooper.

After this unfortunate repulse, the remainder of the army retired about three miles from the city, where they posted themselves advantageously, and are continuing the blockade, waiting for reinforcements, which are now on their way to join them.

Every possible mark of distinction was shewn to the corpse of general Montgomery, who was interred in Quebec, on the 2d of January.

Published by order of Congress,
CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

BATTLE OF LONG-ISLAND. *August 28, 1776.*

Yesterday's occurrences no doubt will be described to you various ways: I embrace this leisure moment to give as satisfactory an account as I am able. A large body of the enemy that landed some time since on Long-Island, at the end of a beautiful plain, had extended their troops about six miles from the place of their first landing. There were at this time eleven regiments of our troops posted in different parts of the woods, between our lines and the enemy, through which they must pass if they attempted any thing against us. Early in the morning our scouting parties discovered a large body of the enemy, both horse and foot, advancing on the Jamaica road towards us: I was dispatched to general Putnam, to inform him of it. On my way back, I discovered, as I thought, our battalion on a hill coming in, dressed in hunting shirts, and was going to join them, but was stopped by a number of our soldiers, who told me they were the enemy in our dress—on this I prevailed on a sergeant and two men to halt and fire on them, which produced a shower of bullets, and we were obliged to retire.

In the mean time the enemy with a large body penetrated through the woods on our right and center or front, and about nine o'clock landed another body on their right, the whole stretching across the field and woods, between our works and our troops, and sending out parties, accompanied with light horse, which harassed or surrounded and surprised our new troops, who, however, sold their lives dear. Our forces then made towards our lines, but the enemy had taken possession of the ground before them by stolen marches. Our men broke through parties after parties, but still found the enemy's thousands before them. Colonel Smallwood's, Atlee's and Hazalet's battalions, with general Sterling at their head, had collected on an eminence and made a good stand, but the enemy fired a field piece on them, and, being greatly superior in number, obliged them to retreat into a marsh; finding it out of their power to withstand about 6000 men, they waded through the mud and water to a mill opposite them; their retreat was covered by the second battalion, which had reached our lines.—Colonel Lutz's and the New England regiments after this made some resistance in the woods, but were obliged by superior numbers to retire.

Colonel Miles's and Brodhead's battalions, finding themselves surrounded, determined to fight and run; they did so, and broke through English, Hessians, and dispersed the horse, and at last came in with considerable loss. Colonel Parry was early in the day, shot through the head, encouraging his men. Eighty of our battalion came in this morning, having forced their way through the enemy's rear, and come round by the way of Hell Gate; we expect more, who are missing, will come in the same way.

BATTLE OF TRENTON.

Head-Quarters, New-Town, December 26, 1776.

Sir,

I have the pleasure of congratulating you upon the success of an enterprize, which I had formed against a detachment

detachment of the enemy lying in Trenton, and which was executed the next morning. The evening of the 25th I ordered the troops intended for this purpose to parade back of M'Kenny's Ferry, that they might begin to pass as soon as it was dark ; imagining that we should be able to throw them all over, with the necessary artillery, by twelve o'clock, that we might easily arrive in Trenton by five o'clock in the morning, the distance being about nine miles ; but the quantity of ice made that night, impeded the passage of the boats so much, that it was three o'clock before the artillery could be got over, and near four when the troops took up the line of march. I formed my detachment into two divisions, one to march up the lower, or River Road, the other by the upper, or Pennington Road. As the divisions had nearly the same distance to march, I ordered each of them, immediately upon forcing the out-guards, to push directly into the town, that they might charge the enemy before they had time to form. The upper division arrived at the enemy's advanced post exactly at eight o'clock, and in three minutes after, I found from the fire in the lower road, that the other division had also got up. The out-guards made but a small opposition, though for their numbers they behaved very well, keeping up a constant retreating fire behind houses. We presently saw their main body formed, but from their motions they seemed undetermined how to act, being hard pressed by our troops, who had already got possession of half their artillery, they attempted to file off by a road on their right, leading to Princeton, but perceiving their intention I threw a body of troops in their way, which immediately checked them.

Finding by our disposition that they were surrounded, and must inevitably be cut to pieces if they made any further resistance, they agreed to lay down their arms. The number that submitted in this manner were twenty-three officers and eight hundred and eighty-six men. Colonel Rohl, the commanding officer, and seven others, were found wounded in the town. I do not exactly

know how many were killed, but I fancy about twenty or thirty, as they never made any regular stand. Our loss was very trifling indeed, only four officers and one or two privates wounded.

G. WASHINGTON.

BATTLE of PRINCETON. January 2, 1777.

We left Crofwick's the 1st instant, about two o'clock in the morning, and arrived at Trenton a little after sun-rise. About eleven o'clock we were alarmed by the approach of the enemy. We sent one brigade to amuse them, while we took post on the lower side of the creek and back in the woods. There was a smart cannonade till dark, when both sides ceased firing. The men were ordered to keep their posts and lie on their arms. A council of war was held, and it was determined to file off to the right, through the woods, leaving the enemy on the left; and attack Princeton by day-light. About five hundred men and two pieces of iron ordnance were left to amuse the enemy.

Our whole army, with a great train of artillery, marched about one o'clock. About seven hundred of the British troops were on their march to join the main body. On discovering our army, they returned to town and prepared to receive us. One division of their troops formed in front of a house on the south side of the college. General Mercer's brigade filed off to the right, and was attacked by the other division. The brigade did not fire till they had advanced within forty yards. The enemy received this brigade with charged bayonets, and general Mercer received a mortal wound. Our brigade advanced through the skirts of a wood in front of the enemy, posted on an eminence with two field pieces. General Green ordered the troops to form, as soon as they arrived, on a hill two or three hundred yards distant. Our column was formed from the right by divisions. About eighty infantry of the enemy were posted behind a fence about one hundred yards distant. Captain

tain Henry was dispatched, with about one hundred infantry, to flank that party; but the first discharge of our field pieces drove them up to the main body. The second division was immediately ordered to double up to the right, the third to the left, and so alternately; which was done in face of the enemy, and under a shower of grape shot. About half of the first battalion was formed, when they broke, fell back upon the column, and threw the whole into confusion. The officers exerted themselves to form a division; but they were unable. General Washington then ordered them to be formed about one hundred yards in the rear, which was done to some effect. A division then advanced to the enemy in face of a heavy fire. The enemy left their situation and inclined to the left. The American troops pressed forward, and the enemy gave way, dropped their packs, and fled with precipitation. They suffered a loss of about thirty killed, and three hundred prisoners.

BATTLE of BRANDYWINE.

Chester, September 11, 1777.

Sir,

I am sorry to inform you, that in this day's engagement we have been obliged to leave the enemy masters of the field. Unfortunately the intelligence received of the enemy's advancing up the Brandywine, and crossing the ford about six miles above us, was uncertain and contradictory, notwithstanding all my pains to get the best. This prevented my making a disposition adequate to the force with which the enemy attacked us on our right. In consequence of which, the troops first engaged were obliged to retire before they could be reinforced.

In the midst of the right, that body of the enemy which remained on the side of Chad's-ford, crossed it, and attacked the division there, under the command of general Wayne, and the light troops under general Maxwell, who, after a severe conflict, also retired. The militia, under general Armstrong, being posted at a ford, about

about two miles below Chad's-ford, had no opportunity of engaging; but we fought under many disadvantages, and were, from the causes above-mentioned, obliged to retire; yet our loss of men is, I am persuaded, very considerable, but I believe much less than the enemy; we have also lost eight pieces of cannon, according to the best information I can obtain; the baggage having been previously moved off, is all saved, except the men's blankets, which being at their backs, many of them doubtless were lost. I have directed all the troops to assemble behind Chester, where they are now arranging for this night. Notwithstanding the misfortune of the day, I am happy to find the troops in good spirits, and I hope another time we shall compensate for the loss we have sustained. The marquis la Fayette is wounded in the leg, and general Woodford in the hand. Divers other officers are wounded, and some slain; but the number of either, cannot now be ascertained.

I have the honor to be, &c.

G. WASHINGTON.

Published by order of Congress.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

Boston, October 2.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman of distinction in Philadelphia, to his friend in this town, dated Sep. 15, 1777.

Dear Sir,

In my last I wrote you, that we were every moment in expectation of engaging the enemy. They advanced by slow degrees up the river Brandywine, with an evident intention of crossing one of the fords. Our army of course moved on the other side of the river to prevent it. But as there were three fords within the compass of ten miles, we were obliged to divide our army, to guard each pass; the greatest probability was, that they would cross the middle one, called Chad's; accordingly our greatest force was posted there, and general Maxwell, with about one thousand

thousand light troops, was sent across to take possession of the opposite height. In the night of the 10th instant, they threw up a slight breast-work of limbs of trees. The next morning, about eight o'clock, the enemy appeared in sight, and moved on a party to dispossess general Maxwell, and at a little distance opened upon our people a heavy cannonade with eight pieces of cannon, which was returned by our artillery, with good effect. General Maxwell drove back the party which was sent against him with great loss; they were reinforced a second time, and came on, but were again repulsed, and followed some distance by the general's party. But as they could not carry their scheme into execution while our light troops remained on the other side the river, they were determined, at all events, to oblige them to retire; accordingly they sent a very strong party round a piece of woods, in order to come upon his flank, while the other attacked him in front. The general perceived this movement, and retreated across, where he joined the main body, with the trifling loss of three killed, and eight or nine wounded. A very intelligent fellow, who was in the action, told me, that when they pursued the enemy, he was confident he saw near five hundred lying on the field; but the general, who is very modest in his account of the matter, imagines that there were at least three hundred killed and wounded. I was with the main body on this side the river, and had the pleasure to see the British troops run. The distance from us was not more than a quarter of a mile.

The enemy still kept to their cannonade, and some of their troops paraded on the heights, and appeared as if they intended to attempt Chad's-ford, but their main body filed off to the left, and crossing the upper ford, marched on to Birmingham meeting-house, near which our right wing was posted. Unfortunately the accounts our general received of this movement, were various and contradictory, which prevented a sufficient force being sent on to sustain the attack in that quarter. Lord Stirling's and another officer's divisions, were there, and general Sullivan

van was sent on to reinforce, but unhappily his division took rather too large a circuit, and rising a hill, were attacked by the whole force of the enemy, before they had time to form. This sudden and unexpected attack threw them into confusion, and they retreated with the utmost precipitation.

The other divisions were also obliged to retreat, after maintaining a very warm conflict for some time, and were closely pursued by the enemy, who took advantage of their retreat, till they fell in with general Green's division, and the one that was Lincoln's, but now commanded by general Wayne. Here a most terrible and bloody battle took place, which was maintained with the greatest bravery and intrepidity for upwards of half an hour, when our people were obliged to quit the field, and the day closing prevented any further pursuit. We lost in this action nine pieces of cannon, a number of officers and men, but none of the higher rank than major Bush, of colonel Hartley's regiment, who was killed.

In the evening the general retreated to Chester, in order to collect his troops, and to permit them to take some refreshment, having had no food the whole day, and little or no sleep for forty eight hours before.

I forgot to mention, that at the time they attacked us on the right, the party which possessed the heights opposite Chad's-ford, attempted to pass it, but were attacked by general Maxwell, who again obliged them to retreat, with the loss of thirty men, among whom was a captain Campbell, out of whose pocket was taken the orders of the 10th instant, and some other important papers.

BATTLE of MONMOUTH. June 28, 1778.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S Letter to CONGRESS.

About five in the morning, general Dickenson sent an express informing that the front of the enemy had begun their march. I instantly put the army in motion, and sent orders to general Lee, to move on and attack them, unless

unless there should be very powerful reasons to the contrary; acquainting him at the same time, that I was marching to support him, and, for doing it with the greatest expedition and convenience, should make the men disincumber themselves, of their packs and blankets.

After marching about five miles, to my great surprise, and mortification, I met the whole advanced corps retreating, and, as I was told, by general Lee's orders; without having made any opposition, except one fire given by the party under the command of colonel Butler, on their being charged by the enemy's cavalry, who were repulsed. I proceeded immediately to the rear of the corps, which I found closely pressed by the enemy, and gave directions for forming part of the retreating troops, who, by the brave and spirited conduct of the officers, aided by some pieces of well served artillery, checked the enemy's advance, and gave time to make a disposition of the left wing and second line of the army upon an eminence, and in a wood a little in the rear, covered by a morass in front. On this were placed some batteries of cannon, by lord Stirling, who commanded the left wing, which played upon the enemy with great effect, and seconded by parties of infantry, detached to oppose them, effectually put a stop to their advance.

General Lee being detached with the advanced corps, the command of the right wing, for the occasion, was given to general Greene. For the expedition of the march and to counteract an attempt to turn our right, I had ordered him to file off by the new church, two miles from Englishtown, and fall into the Monmouth road, a small distance in the rear of the court house, whilst the rest of the column moved directly on towards the court house. On intelligence of the retreat he marched up and took a very advantageous position on the right.

The enemy by this time, finding themselves warmly opposed in front, made an attempt to turn our left flank, but they were bravely repulsed and driven back, by detached parties of infantry. They also made a movement to our right, with as little success; general Greene having

ing advanced a body of troops, with artillery, to a commanding piece of ground, which not only disappointed their design of turning our right, but severely enfiladed those in front of the first wing. In addition to this, general Wayne advanced with a body of troops, and kept so severe and well directed a fire, that the enemy were soon compelled to retire behind the defile, where the first stand in the beginning of the action had been made.

In this situation, the enemy had both their flanks secured by thick woods and morasses, while their front could only be approached, through a narrow pass. I resolved, nevertheless, to attack them, and for that purpose ordered general Poor, with his own and the Carolina brigade, to move round upon their right, and general Woodford upon their left, and the artillery to gall them in front; but the impediment in their way, prevented their getting within reach, before it was dark; they remained upon the ground they had been directed to occupy during the night, with intention to begin the attack early the next morning, and the army continued lying upon their arms in the field of action, to be in readiness to support them. In the mean time the enemy were employed in removing their wounded, and about twelve o'clock at night, marched away in such silence, that though general Poor lay extremely near them, they effected their retreat without his knowledge. The extreme heat of the weather, the fatigue of the men, from their march through a deep sandy country, almost entirely destitute of water, and the distance the enemy had gained by marching in the night, made a pursuit impracticable and fruitless.

ACCOUNT of the ATTACK at STONEY POINT.

Stoney-Point, July 17, 1779.

Sir,

I have the honor of giving you a full and particular relation of the reduction of this Point, by the light infantry under my command.

On

On the 15th instant, at twelve o'clock, we took up our line of march from Sandy-beach, distant fourteen miles from this place; the roads being exceedingly bad and narrow, and having to pass over high mountains, through deep morasses, and difficult defiles, we were obliged to move in single files the greatest part of the way. At eight o'clock in the evening; the van arrived at Mr. Springsteel's, within one mile and a half of the enemy, and formed into columns as fast as they came up, agreeable to the order of battle; Colonels Febiger's and Meig's regiments, with major Hull's detachment, formed the right column; colonel Butler's regiment, and major Murfree's two companies, the left. The troops remained in this position until several of the principal officers with myself, had returned from reconnoitering the works. Half after eleven o'clock, being the hour fixed on, the whole moved forward; the van of the right consisted of one hundred and fifty volunteers, properly officered, who advanced with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets, under the command of lieutenant colonel Fleury; these were preceded by twenty picked men, and a vigilant and brave officer, to remove the abbatiss and other obstructions. The van of the left consisted of one hundred volunteers, under the command of major Stewart, with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets, also preceded by a brave and determined officer, with twenty men, for the same purpose as the other.

At twelve o'clock the assault was to begin on the right and left flanks of the enemy's works, whilst major Murfree amused them in front; but a deep morass covering their whole front, at this time overflowed by the tide, together with other obstructions, rendered the approaches more difficult, than was at first apprehended, so that it was about twenty minutes after twelve before the assault began, previous to which I placed myself at the head of Febiger's regiment or right column, and gave the troops the most pointed orders not to fire on any account, but place their whole dependence on the bayonet, which order was literally and faithfully obeyed. Neither the

deep morass, the formidable and double rows of abbatis, or the strong works in front and flank, could damp the ardor of the troops, who in face of a most tremendous and incessant fire of musketry, and from cannon loaded with grape-shot, forced their way, at the point of the bayonet, through every obstacle, both columns meeting in the center of the enemy's works nearly at the same instant.

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE.

President of Congress.

ATTACK on SULLIVAN'S-ISLAND. July 28th, 1776.

On Friday about eleven o'clock, the Commodore (Sir Peter Parker) with his whole squadron, consisting of two line of battle ships and six frigates, anchored at less than musquet shot from the fort, and commenced one of the most furious and incessant fires I ever saw or heard. It was manifestly their plan to land, at the same time, the whole of the regulars at the east end of the island, and of course invest the fort by land and sea. As the garrison was composed entirely of raw troops, both officers and men, I thought it my duty to cross over to the island to encourage the garrison by my presence. But I might have saved myself that trouble, for I found on my arrival they had no occasion for any sort of encouragement. I found them determined and cool to the last degree: their behavior would in fact, have done honor to the oldest troops.

I therefore beg leave to recommend in the strongest terms to the Congress, the commanding officer, colonel Moultrie, and his whole garrison, as brave soldiers and excellent citizens. Nor must I omit at the same time mentioning colonel Thompson, who with the South-Carolina rangers, and a detachment of the North-Carolina regulars, repulsed the enemy in two several attempts to make a lodgement at the extremity of the island.

Our loss, considering the heat and duration of the fire,
was

was inconsiderable. We had only ten men killed, seven of whom lost their limbs ; but with their limbs they did not lose their spirits ; for they enthusiastically encouraged their comrades never to abandon the standard of liberty and their country. This I assure you is not in the style of gasconading romance, usual after every successful action, but literally a fact. I with great pleasure mention the circumstance, as it augurs well to the cause of freedom. At eleven the fire ceased, having continued just twelve hours without the least intermission.

The foregoing extract of a letter from general Lee, is published by order of Congress.

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

New-York, July 20.

Our victory at Charleston was thus given out in general Washington's orders. The general has great pleasure in communicating to the officers and soldiers of this army, the signal success of the American arms under general Lee at South Carolina ; the enemy having attempted to land at the same time that a most furious cannonade for twelve hours was made upon the fortification near Charleston ; both fleet and army have been repulsed with a great loss, by a small number of gallant troops just raised. The enemy had one hundred twenty-seven men killed and wounded, among whom were several officers ; two capital ships much damaged, one frigate of 28 guns entirely lost, being abandoned and blown up by the crew ; and others so hurt that they will want great repairs before they will be fit for service ; and with the loss on our side of ten killed and twenty-two wounded. The firmness, courage and bravery of our troops, have crowned them with immortal honor. The dying heroes conjured their brethren never to abandon the standard of liberty ; even those who had lost their limbs continued at their posts. Their gallantry and spirit extorted applause from their enemies, who, dejected and defeated, have returned to their former station, out of the reach of our troops.

ATTACK

ATTACK upon SAVANNA. October 9th, 1779.

After the conquest of Grenada, count D'Estaing, with the fleet under his command, left the West-Indies and sailed for the continent. As soon as general Lincoln was informed of his arrival on the coast, he ordered his troops to march for Savannah, and collected the militia of South-Carolina and Georgia. A body of French troops was landed to co-operate with the Americans in subduing the town. The town was summoned to surrender, but general Prevost, the British commander, refused to comply, and made every exertion to defend it to the last extremity. He solicited leave for the women and children to depart from the town; but upon a supposition that this was a stratagem to secure their plunder; or, under an expectation that the helpless women and children being in town would expedite a surrender, the request was refused.

The surrender of Savanna by regular approaches must have been slow—the season was far advanced—the French fleet was exposed, upon a dangerous coast, in a tempestuous season—these, with other considerations, prevailed upon general Lincoln and count D'Estaing to risk an assault.

The troops marched, with great intrepidity, to attack the British lines; but a heavy and well-directed fire from the batteries, and a cross fire from the gallies, did much execution, and threw the front of the column into confusion. Two standards were however planted on the British redoubts. Count Pulaski, at the head two hundred horsemen, riding into the town, full speed, with an intention of charging the enemy in the rear, received a mortal wound. The assailants stood the enemy's fire fifty-five minutes, and retreated. Count D'Estaing received two wounds, and both the French and American troops suffered considerable loss. The damage sustained by the British was trifling, as they fired under cover, and few of the assailants fired at all,

BATTLE of CAMDEN. August 20th, 1780.

On the fifteenth general Stevens, with a brigade of Virginia militia, joined general Gates. The whole of the American army now amounted to three thousand six hundred and sixty-three, of which about nine hundred were continental infantry, and seventy cavalry.

The arrival of this force being quite unexpected, lord Cornwallis, busily employed in forming regulations for the interior police of the country, was distant from the scene of action. No sooner was he informed of the approach of general Gates, than he prepared to join his army at Camden. He arrived, and superseded lord Rawdon in command on the fourteenth. His inferior force, consisting of about seventeen hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry, would have justified a retreat; but, considering that no probable event of an action could be more injurious to the royal interest than that measure, he chose to stake his fortune in the field in a contest with the conqueror of Burgoyne. On the night of the fifteenth he marched out with his whole force to attack the American army; and at the same hour general Gates put his army in motion, with a determination to take an eligible position between Sander's Creek and Green-Swamp, about eight miles from Camden. The advanced parties of both armies met about mid-night, and a firing commenced. In the skirmish of the night colonel Portfield, a very gallant officer of the state of Virginia, received a mortal wound. After some time both parties retreated to their main bodies, and the whole lay on their arms. In the morning a severe and general engagement took place. As soon as the British appeared about two hundred yards in front of the North-Carolina troops, the artillery was ordered to fire, and brigadier general Stevens, to attack the column which was displayed to the right. That gallant officer advanced with his brigade of militia in excellent order within fifty paces of the enemy, who were also advancing, and then called out to his men,

" my brave fellows, you have bayonets as well as they, " we'll charge them." At that moment the British infantry charged with a cheer, and the Virginians, throwing down their arms, retreated with the utmost precipitation. The militia of North-Carolina followed the unworthy example, except a few of general Gregory's brigade, who paused a very little longer. A part of colonel Dixon's regiment fired two or three rounds, but the greater part of the militia fled without firing a single shot. This precipitate flight was perhaps occasioned by the following causes : the troops being badly supplied, had for some time subsisted on fruit scarcely ripe, without any regular rations of flesh, flour or spirituous liquors. The unexpected meeting of the enemy, their lying for some hours on their arms, with the apprehension of immediate danger, and the horrors of the night, operating on militia who had never been in action, and whose strength and spirits were depressed by their preceding low regimen, occasioned so general a panic among the raw troops, that they could not stand before bayonets. The whole left wing and center being gone, the continentals who formed the right wing, and the corps of reserve, engaged about the same time, and gave the British an unexpected check. The second brigade, consisting of Maryland and Delaware troops, gained ground, and had taken no less than fifty prisoners. The first brigade being considerably out flanked, were obliged to retire ; but they rallied again, and with great spirit renewed the fight. This expedient was repeated two or three times. The British directed their whole force against these two devoted corps, and a tremendous fire of musketry was continued on both sides, with great perseverance and obstinacy. At length lord Cornwallis, observing that there was no cavalry opposed to him, poured in his dragoons and ended the contest. Never did men behave better than the continentals in the whole of this action ; but all attempts to rally the militia were ineffectual. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's legion charged them as they broke, and pursued them as they were fleeing.

ing. Without having it in their power to defend themselves, they fell in great numbers under the legionary sabres.

Major-general Baron De-Kalb, an illustrious German, in the service of France, who had generously engaged in the support of the American independence, and who exerted himself with great bravery to prevent the defeat of the day, received eleven wounds, of which, though he received the most particular assistance from the British, he in a short time expired. Congress, sensible of his exalted merit, ordered a monument to be erected in Annapolis to his memory. Lieutenant-colonel Du-Buysson, aid-de-camp to Baron De-Kalb, embraced his wounded general, announced his rank and nation to the surrounding foe, and begged that they would spare his life.. While he generously exposed himself to save his friend, he received sundry dangerous wounds, and was taken prisoner. Brigadier-general Rutherford, a valuable officer, of the most extensive influence over the North-Carolina militia, surrendered to a party of the British legion, one of whom, after his submission, cut him in several places. Of the South-Carolina line, that brave and distinguished officer, major Thomas Pinckney, acting as aid-de-camp to major-general Gates, had his leg shattered by a musket-ball, and fell into the hands of the conquerors.

The Americans lost eight field-pieces, the whole of their artillery, upwards of two hundred waggons, and the greatest part of their baggage. The loss of the British, in killed and wounded, was about three hundred. The royal army fought with great bravery ; but their success was in a great measure owing to the precipitate flight of the militia, and the superiority of their cavalry.

TARLETON'S DEFEAT. January 17th, 1781.

These successes, the appearance of an American army, a sincere attachment to the cause of independence, and the impolitic conduct of the British, induced several persons to resume their arms, and to act in concert with the

the detachment of continentals. Lord Cornwallis wished to drive general Morgan from his station, and to deter the inhabitants from joining him. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, at the head of a thousand regulars, was ordered to execute this business. The British had two field-pieces, and the superiority of numbers in the proportion of five to four, and particularly of cavalry, in the proportion of three to one. Besides this inequality of force, two thirds of the troops under general Morgan were militia. With these fair prospects of success lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, on the seventeenth of January, 1781, engaged general Morgan, with the expectation of driving him out of the country. General Morgan had obtained early intelligence of Tarleton's force and advances, and drew up his men in two lines. The whole of the southern militia, with one hundred and ninety from North-Carolina, under major McDowell, were put under the command of colonel Pickens. These formed the first line, and were advanced a few hundred yards before the second, with orders to form on the right of the second when forced to retire. The second line consisted of the light-infantry, under lieutenant-colonel Howard, and a small corps of Virginia militia riflemen. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with his cavalry, and about forty-five militiamen mounted and equipped with swords, under lieutenant-colonel McCall, were drawn up at some distance in the rear of the whole. The Americans were formed before the British appeared in sight. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton halted and formed his men, when at the distance of about two hundred and fifty yards from the front line of general Morgan's detachment. As soon as the British had formed they began to advance with a shout, and poured in an incessant fire of musketry. Colonel Pickens directed the militia under his command not to fire till the British were within forty or fifty yards. This order, though executed with great firmness and success, was not sufficient to repel the advancing foe. The American militia were obliged to retire, but were soon rallied by their officers. The British advanced rapidly

rapidly and engaged the second line, which, after a most obstinate conflict, was compelled to retreat to the cavalry. In this crisis of the battle lieutenant-colonel Washington made a successful charge upon lieutenant colonel Tarleton, who was cutting down the militia. Lieutenant colonel Howard, almost at the same moment, rallied the continental troops, and charged with fixed bayonets. The example was instantly followed by the militia. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and confusion of the British, occasioned by these unexpected charges. Their advance fell back upon their rear, and communicated a panic to the whole. In this moment of confusion lieutenant-colonel Howard called to them "to lay down their arms," and promised them good quarters. Upwards of five hundred accepted the offer and surrendered. The first battalion of the seventy first regiment, and two British light infantry companies laid down their arms to the American militia. Previous to this general surrender, three hundred of the corps, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, had been killed, wounded or taken. Eight hundred stand of arms, two field pieces, and thirty-five baggage-waggons, also fell into the hands of the Americans. Lieutenant-colonel Washington pursued the British cavalry for several miles, but a great part of them escaped. The Americans had only twelve men killed, and sixty wounded. General Morgan, whose abilities were discovered by the judicious disposition of his force, and whose activity was conspicuous through every part of the action, obtained the universal applause of his countrymen. And there never was a commander better supported than he was by the officers and men of his detachment. The glory and importance of this action resounded from one end of the continent to the other. It re-animated the desponding friends of America, and seemed to be like a resurrection from the dead, to the southern states.

BATTLE of GUILFORD, March 16th, 1781.

Extract of a Letter from GENERAL GREENE.

Sir,

On the morning of the fifteenth, our reconnoitering parties reported the enemy advancing on the great Salisbury road. The army was drawn up in three lines

The greater part of this country is a wilderness, with a few cleared fields interspersed here and there. The army was drawn up upon a large hill of ground, surrounded by other hills, the greatest part of which was covered with timber and thick underbrush. The front line was posted with two field pieces, just on the edge of the woods, and the back of a fence, which ran parallel with the line, with an open field directly in their front. The second line was in the woods, about three hundred yards in the rear of the first, and the continental troops about three hundred yards in the rear of the second, with a double front, as the hill drew to a point where they were posted, and on the right and left were two old fields. In this position we waited the approach of the enemy, having previously sent off the baggage to this place, appointed to rendezvous at, in case of a defeat.

The action commenced by a cannonade which lasted about twenty minutes, when the enemy advanced in three columns. The whole moved through the old fields to attack the North Carolina brigades, who waited the attack until the enemy got within about one hundred and forty yards, when part of them began a fire, but a considerable part left the ground without firing at all. The general and field officers did all they could to induce the men to stand their ground; but neither the advantages of the position, nor any other consideration could induce them to stay. General Stevens and general Lawson, and the field officers of their brigades were more successful in their exertions. The Virginia militia gave the enemy a warm reception, and kept up a heavy fire.

fire for a long time; but being beat back, the action became general almost every where. The corps of observation under Washington and Lee were warmly engaged, and did great execution. In a word, the conflict was long and severe, and the enemy only gained their point by superior discipline.

They having broken the second Maryland regiment, and turned our left flank, and got into the rear of the Virginia brigade, and appearing to be gaining our right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, I thought it most adviseable to order a retreat. We retreated in good order to the Reedy Fork river, and crossed at the ford, about three miles from the field of action, where we halted and drew up the troops, until we collected most of our stragglers. We lost our artillery and two ammunition waggons, the greatest part of the horses being killed before the retreat began, and it being impossible to move the pieces but along the great road. After collecting our stragglers, we retired to this camp, ten miles distant from Guilford.

The firmness of the officers and soldiers, during the whole campaign, has been almost unparalleled. Amidst innumerable difficulties, they have discovered a degree of magnanimity and fortitude that will forever add a lustre to their military reputation.

NATHANIEL GREENE.

BATTLE of the EUTAW SPRINGS.

September 11th, 1781.

In my dispatch of the 15th of August I informed your Excellency that we were on our march for Friday's Ferry to form a junction with the state troops, and a body of militia collecting at that place, with an intention to make an attack upon the British army lying at colonel Thompson's, near McCord's ferry. On the 27th, on our arrival near Friday's Ferry, I got intelligence that the enemy were retiring.

We

We crossed the river at Howel's ferry, and took post at Motte's plantation. Here I got intelligence that the enemy had halted at the Eutaw Springs, about forty miles below us; and that they had a reinforcement, and were making preparations to establish a permanent post there. To prevent this I was determined rather to hazard an action, notwithstanding our numbers were greatly inferior to their's. On the 5th we began our march, our baggage and stores having been ordered to Howel's ferry, under a proper guard. We moved by slow and easy marches, as well to disguise our real intention, as to give general Marion an opportunity to join us, who had been sent for the support of colonel Harding, a report of which I transmitted in my letter of the 5th, dated at Maybrick's Creek. General Marion joined us on the evening of the 7th, at Curdell's plantation, seven miles from the enemy's camp.

The legion and state troops formed our advance, and were to retire upon the flanks upon the enemy's forming. In this order we moved on to the attack, the legion and state troops fell in with a party of the enemy's horse and foot about four miles from their camp, who mistaking our people for a party of militia, charged them briskly, but were soon convinced of their mistake by the reception they met with; the infantry of the state troops kept up a heavy fire, and the legion in front under captain Rudolph charged them with fixed bayonets, they fled on all sides, leaving four or five dead on the ground, and several more wounded. As this was supposed to be the advance of the British army, our front line was ordered to form and move on briskly in line, the legion and state troops to take their position upon the flanks. All the country is covered with timber from the place the action began to the Eutaw Springs. The firing began again between two and three miles from the the British camp. The militia were ordered to keep advancing as they fired. The enemy's advanced parties were driven in, and a most tremendous fire began on both sides from right to left, and the legion and state troops were closely engaged

gaged. They kept up a heavy and well directed fire, and the enemy returned it with equal spirit, for they really fought worthy of a better cause, and great execution was done on both sides.

In this stage of the action the Virginians under lieutenant colonel Campbell, and the Maryland troops under colonel Williams, were led on to a brisk charge with trailed arms, through a heavy cannonade, and a shower of musket balls. Nothing could exceed the gallantry and firmness of both officers and soldiers upon this occasion. They preserved their order, and pressed on with such unshaken resolution, that they bore down all before them. The enemy were routed in all quarters.

A party threw themselves into a large three story brick house, that stands near the Springs, others took post in a picquettet garden, while others were lodged in an impenetrable thicket, consisting of a cragged shrub called a Black Jack. Thus secured in front and upon the right by the house and a deep ravine, upon the left by the picquettet garden, and in the impenetrable shrubs, and the rear also being secured by the springs and deep hollow ways, the enemy renewed the action. Every exertion was made to dislodge them. Lieutenant colonel Washington made most astonishing efforts to get through the thicket to charge the enemy in rear, but found it impracticable, and had his horse shot under him, and was wounded and taken prisoner. Colonel Washington failing in his charge upon the left, and the legion baffled in an attempt upon the right, and finding our infantry galled by the fire of the enemy, and our ammunition mostly consumed, though both officers and men continued to exhibit uncommon acts of heroism, I thought proper to retire out of the fire of the house, and draw up the troops at a little distance in the woods, not thinking it adviseable to push our advantages further, being persuaded the enemy could not hold the post many hours, and that our chance to attack them on the retreat was better than a second attempt to dislodge them, in which, if we succeeded, it must be attended with considerable loss.

The CAPTURE of LORD CORNWALLIS.

October 19, 1781.

Lord Cornwallis conceived himself bound by instructions from Sir Henry Clinton, to defend the posts of York and Gloucester. In obedience to these orders, and in expectation of succour from New-York, he prepared for a siege, by intrenching his army on both sides of York river. The militia of the state of Virginia were called out to service, and were commanded by governor Nelson. The French and American troops marched forward with such expedition, that, on the last day of September, they closely invested lord Cornwallis in York-Town; the French extending from the river above the town to a morass in the centre, where they were met by the Americans who occupied the opposite side, from the river to that spot. The post at Gloucester Point, was at the same time invested by the duke de Lauzun with his legion, and a number of Virginia militia commanded by general Weedon; but the operations on that side was little more than a warm skirmish, in which the duke de Lauzun compelled lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to retire.

The trenches were opened by the combined armies, on the night of the sixth of October, and their attacks were carried on with great vigor. The shells from the besiegers reached the ships in the harbor, and the Charon, of forty-four guns, with some of the transports, were burned. On the night of the eleventh of October, they began their second parallel, at the distance of three hundred yards from the works of the besieged.

Lord Cornwallis was soon convinced, that the post which he occupied was incapable of resisting the force opposed to it; but, in the confident expectation of aid from New-York, he declined attempting a retreat, or hazarding an engagement in the open field. His hopes were farther confirmed by a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, by which he was informed that relief would sail about

bout the fifth of October. But it so happened, that the delays which necessarily occurred in equipping and refitting the fleet, destined for York-Town, made the fulfilment of this engagement impossible.

Two redoubts, which were advanced about three hundred yards on the left of the British, greatly impeded the progress of the combined armies. An attack on these was therefore resolved upon. To excite a spirit of emulation, the reduction of one was committed to the French—of the other to the Americans. The latter marched to the assault with unloaded arms, passed the abbatis and palisades, and, attacking on all sides, carried the redoubt in a few minutes. Lieutenant-colonel Laurens, on this occasion, personally took the commanding officer of the redoubt, but saved him from the fate which usually attends those who are taken by storm. Colonel Hamilton, who conducted this successful enterprise with so much address and intrepidity; and who is no less distinguished for literary than for military talents, in his report of the transaction to the marquis de la Fayette, mentioned, to the honor of his detachment, “that incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocations, they spared every man that ceased to resist.”

The French were equally successful on their side. They carried the redoubt committed to them with rapidity, but lost a considerable number of men. These two works, which had heretofore embarrassed the operations of the besiegers, by being included in the second parallel, were made subservient to their ulterior designs.

The inferior numbers of the garrison made it improper for lord Cornwallis to risk any considerable force in the making of sallies, and the besiegers had proceeded with so much regularity and caution, that nothing less than a strong attack could make any impression. On the morning of the sixteenth, lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie was ordered to make a sortie, with about three hundred and fifty men. They succeeded so far as to force two advanced redoubts, and to spike eleven pieces of cannon, besides

besides killing and wounding a considerable number of the French troops. Though the officers and soldiers displayed great bravery in this enterprise, yet their success produced no essential advantage. The cannon, which had been hastily spiked, were soon again rendered fit for service. By this time the works of the besieged were so far destroyed, that they could scarcely shew a single gun.

Lord Cornwallis had now no choice left but either to prepare for a surrender, or to make his escape. He determined to attempt the latter, hoping that at least it might retard the fate of his army. Boats were prepared under different pretexts, but with the intention of receiving the troops at ten at night, in order to pass them over to Gloucester Point, from whence a passage to the open country was not altogether hopeless. In the execution of this design, the first embarkation had arrived at Gloucester Point, and a part of the troops were landed, when the weather, which was then moderate and calm, instantly changed to a most violent storm of wind and rain. The boats were all driven down the river, which not only frustrated the original scheme, but made it impossible to bring back the boats from Gloucester. The royal army, thus weakened and divided, was exposed to increased danger till the next day, when the boats returned and the troops were brought back.

By this time the works of the besieged were so broken, that they were assailable in many places, and the troops were exhausted by constant watching and unceasing fatigue. The time in which relief from New-York was promised had elapsed. Longer resistance could answer no purpose, and might occasion the loss of many valuable lives. Lord Cornwallis therefore, on the seventeenth, wrote a letter to general Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for twenty four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed for terms of capitulation. It is remarkable, while lieutenant-colonel Laurens, the officer employed by general Washington on this occasion, was drawing up articles by which a numerous British army became prisoners, that his father was closely confined in the tower of London.

The

The posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered on the nineteenth of October. The honor of marching out with colours flying, which had been denied to general Lincoln, on his giving up Charleston, was now refused to earl Cornwallis, and general Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army at York-Town, precisely in the same way his own had been conducted about eighteen months before. The troops of every kind surrendered prisoners of war exceeded seven thousand men, but the effective men at that time was very little more than half that number. The officers and soldiers retained their baggage and effects, but all visible plundered property was liable to be reclaimed.

Lord Cornwallis endeavored to obtain permission for the British and German troops to return to their respective countries, under engagements not to serve against France or America; and also an indemnity for those of the inhabitants who had joined him; but he was obliged to consent, that the former should be retained in the governments of Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland; and that the latter, whose case lay with the civil authority of the states, should be given up to the unconditional mercy of their countrymen. His lordship, nevertheless, obtained permission for the Bonetta sloop of war to pass unexamined, which gave an opportunity of screening those of the loyalists who were most obnoxious to the resentment of the Americans.

The land-forces became prisoners to Congress, but the seamen and ships were assigned to the French admirals.

C H A P. XXIX.

General WASHINGTON's farewell Orders to the Armies of the United States.

Rocky Hill, near Princeton, November 2, 1783.

THE United States in Congress assembled, after giving the most honorable testimony to the merits of

the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks their country, for their long, eminent and faithful services,—having thought proper, by their proclamation bearing date the 18th of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furlough to retire from service, from and after to-morrow, which proclamation hath been communicated in the public papers, for the information and government of all concerned,—it only remains for the Commander in Chief to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies of the United States (however widely dispersed the individuals who compose them may be) and to bid them an affectionate,—a long farewell.

But before the Commander in Chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight review of the past,—he will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future prospects—of advising the general line of conduct, which, in his opinion, ought to be pursued;—and he will conclude the address, by expressing the obligations he feels himself under for the spirited and able assistance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office.

A contemplation of the compleat attainment (at a period earlier than could have been expected) of the object for which we contended, against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude.—The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten.—The singular interpositions of Providence in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving,—while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

It is not the meaning, nor within the compass of this address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service,

service, or to describe the distresses, which in several instances have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigors of an inclement season ;—nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs.—Every American officer and soldier must now console himself for any unpleasant circumstances which may have occurred, by a recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious a part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness ;—events which have seldom, if ever before, taken place in the stage of human action, nor can they probably ever happen again. For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials ? Who that was not a witness could imagine, that the most violent local prejudices could cease so soon, and that men who came from the different parts of the continent, strongly disposed by the habits of education, to despise, and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers ? or who that was not on the spot can trace the steps, by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils ?

It is universally acknowledged that the enlarged prospects of happiness, opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceeds the power of description : And shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained ? In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours ? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce, and the cultivation of the soil, will unfold to industry the certain road to competence.—To those hardy soldiers, who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment ; and the extensive and fertile regions of the west will yield a most happy asylum to those, who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking for personal independence.

dependence. Nor is it possible to conceive that any of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, and a dissolution of the union, to a compliance with the requisitions of Congress, and the payment of its just debts, so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in recommencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

In order to effect this desirable purpose, and to remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the States, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that, with strong attachments to the union, they should carry with them into civil society the most conciliating dispositions; and that they should not prove themselves less virtuous and useful citizens, than they have been persevering and victorious soldiers.—What though there should be some envious individuals, who are unwilling to pay the debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit; yet let such unworthy treatment produce no invective, or any instance of intemperate conduct,—let it be remembered; that that the unbiased voice of the free citizens of the United States has promised the just reward, and given the merited applause,—let it be known and remembered; that the reputation of the federal armies is established beyond the reach of malevolence, and let a consciousness of their achievements and fame still incite the men who composed them to honorable actions, under the persuasion, that the private virtues of economy, prudence and industry, will not be less amiable in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valor, perseverance and enterprize, were in the field;—Every one may rest assured that much, very much of the future happiness of the officers and men, will depend upon the wise and manly conduct which shall be adopted by them, when they are mingled with the great body of the community. And although the general has so frequently given it as his opinion, in the most public and explicit manner, that unless the principles of the federal govern-

ment were properly supported, and the powers of the union increased, the honor, dignity and justice of the nation would be lost forever: Yet he cannot help repeating on this occasion so interesting a sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and every soldier, who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavors, to those of his worthy fellow citizens, towards effecting these great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a nation so materially depends.

The Commander in Chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the soldier to change his military character into that of the citizen, but that steady and decent tenor of behavior, which has generally distinguished, not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and separate armies, through the course of the war; from their good sense and prudence, he anticipated the happiest consequences, and while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under, for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. He presents his thanks in the most serious and affectionate manner to the General Officers, as well for their council on many interesting occasions, as for their ardor in promoting the success of the plans he had adopted; to the commandants of regiments and corps, and to the other officers, for their great zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution; to the staff, for their alacrity and exactness in performing the duties of their several departments; and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, for their extraordinary patience in suffering, as well as their invincible fortitude in action; to the various branches of the army, the General takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship.—He wishes more than bare professions were in his power, that he was really able to be useful to them all in future life.—He flatters himself however, they will do him the justice

Justice to believe, that whatever could with propriety be attempted by him, has been done.—And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time, of the military character—and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honor to command,—he can only again offer, in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies.—May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favors, both here and hereafter attend those, who under the Divine auspices have secured innumerable blessings for others. With these wishes, and this benediction, the Commander in Chief is about to retire from service—The curtain of separation will soon be drawn—and the military scene to him will be closed for ever.

EDWARD HAND, *Adj. General.*

C H A P. XXX.

General WASHINGTON's CIRCULAR LETTER.

Head-Quarters, Newburgh, June 18th, 1783.

Sir,

THE great object, for which I had the honor to hold an appointment in the service of my country, being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of Congress, and return to that domestic retirement, which, it is well known, I left with the greatest reluctance;—a retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence,—and in which, (remote from the noise and trouble of the world) I meditate to pass the remainder of life, in a state of undisturbed repose.

But, before I carry this resolution into effect, I think it a duty incumbent upon me to make this my last official communication,—to congratulate you on the glorious events, which Heaven has been pleased to produce in our favor,—to offer my sentiments respecting some important subjects,

subjects, which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquillity of the United Sates,— to take my leave of your Excellency as a public character, and to give my final blessing to that country in whose service I have spent the prime of my life—for whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights, and whose happiness being extremely dear to me, will always constitute no inconsiderable part of my own—

Impressed with the liveliest sensibility on the pleasing occasion, I will claim the indulgence of dilating the more copiously on the subjects of our mutual felicitation;— When we consider the magnitude of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest, and the favorable manner in which it has terminated; we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing;—this is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in contemplation, be considered as the source of present enjoyment, or the parent of future happiness,—and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, a political, or moral point of light.

The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessaries and conveniences of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independence—They are, from this period, to be considered as the actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designated by Providence, for the display of human greatness and felicity.—Here, they are not only surrounded with every thing which can contribute to the completion of private and domestic enjoyment; but Heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a fairer opportunity for political happiness, than any other nation has ever been favored with.—Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly, than a recollection of the happy conjuncture of times

times and circumstances, under which our republic assumed its rank among the nations. The foundation of our empire was not laid in the gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an epocha when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period;—the researches of the human mind, after social happiness, have been carried to a great extent,—the treasures of knowledge, acquired by the labors of philosophers, sages and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for use, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government.—The free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society;—at this auspicious period, the United States came into existence as a nation, and if their citizens should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own.

Such is our situation, and such are our prospects; but notwithstanding the cup of blessing is thus reached out to us,—notwithstanding happiness is ours, if we have a disposition to seize the occasion and make it our own, yet, it appears to me, there is an option still left to the United States of America, that it is in their choice and depends upon their conduct, whether they will be respectable and prosperous, or contemptible and miserable as a nation;—this is the time of their political probation,—this is the moment when the eyes of the whole world are turned upon them—this is the moment to establish or ruin their national character for ever,—this is the favorable moment to give such a tone to our federal government, as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution;—or this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the union, annihilating the cement of the confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one state against another, to prevent their growing importance, and to serve

serve their own interested purposes: For according to the system of policy the States shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall; and by their confirmation or lapse, it is yet to be decided, whether the revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse,—a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved.

With this conviction in my mind of the importance of the present crisis, silence in me would be a crime,—I will therefore speak to your Excellency, the language of freedom and of sincerity, without disguise;—I am aware, however, that those who differ with me in political sentiments, may perhaps remark, I am stepping out of the proper line of my duty, and they may possibly ascribe to arrogance or ostentation, what I know is alone the result of the purest intention.—But the rectitude of my own heart, which despairs such unworthy motives, the part I have hitherto acted in life, the determination I have formed, of not taking any share in public business hereafter, the ardent desire I feel, and shall continue to manifest, of quietly enjoying in private life, after all the toils of war, the benefits of a wise and liberal government, will, I flatter myself, sooner or later, convince my countrymen, that I could have no sinister view in delivering, with so little reserve, the opinions contained in this address.

There are four things, which I humbly conceive, are essential to the well being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States, and an Independent Power.

1st. An indissoluble union of the States under one federal head.

2dly. A sacred regard to public justice.

3dly. The adoption of a proper peace establishment.
And,

4thly. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite

quisite to the general prosperity, and in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.

These are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independence and national character must be supported.—Liberty is the basis,—and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration, and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured country.

On the three first articles, I will make a few observations—leaving the last to the good sense and serious consideration of those immediately concerned.

Under the *first* head, although it may not be necessary or proper for me in this place, to enter into a particular disquisition of the principles of the union, and to take up the great question, which has been frequently agitated, whether it be expedient and requisite for the States to delegate a larger proportion of power to Congress, or not;—yet it will be a part of my duty, and that of every true patriot, to assert without reserve, and to insist upon the following propositions:—That unless the states will suffer Congress to preserve those prerogatives, they are undoubtedly vested with by the constitution, every thing must very rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion.—That it is indispensable to the happiness of the individual States, that there should be lodged somewhere, a supreme power, to regulate and govern the general concerns of the Confederated Republic, without which the union cannot be of long duration.—That there must be a faithful and pointed compliance, on the part of every State, with the late proposals and demands of Congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue.—That whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve the union, or contribute to violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to the liberty and independence of America, and the authors of them treated accordingly.—And lastly, That unless we can be enabled, by the concurrence of the States, to participate of

of the fruits of the revolution, and enjoy the essential benefits of civil society under a form of government so free and uncorrupted, so happily guarded against the danger of oppression, as has been devised and adopted by the articles of confederation,—that it will be a subject of regret, that so much blood and treasure have been lavished for no purpose, that so many sufferings have been encountered, without a compensation, and that so many sacrifices have been made in vain. Many other considerations may be adduced to prove, that without an entire conformity to the spirit of the union, we cannot exist as an Independent Power,—it will be sufficient for my present purpose to mention, but one or two, which seem to me of the greatest importance :—It is only in our united character as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported among foreign nations.—The treaties of the European powers with the United States of America, will have no validity on a dissolution of the union.—We shall be left nearly in a state of nature, or we may find by our own unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary progression from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny ; and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness.

As to the second article, which respects the performance of public justice, Congress have, in their late address to the United States, almost exhausted the subject, —they have explained their ideas so fully, and have enforced the obligations the States are under to render compleat justice to all the public creditors, with so much dignity and energy, that in my opinion, no real friend to the honor and independence of America, can hesitate a single moment respecting the propriety of complying with the just and honorable measures proposed ; if their arguments do not produce conviction, I know of nothing that will have greater influence, especially when we recollect, that the system referred to, being the result of the collected wisdom of the continent, must be esteemed, if

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not perfect, certainly the least exceptionable of any that could be devised ; and that, if it shall not be carried into immediate execution, national bankruptcy, with all its deplorable consequences, will take place before any different plan can possibly be proposed or adopted ; so pressing are the present circumstances, and such is the alternative now offered to the States.

The ability of the country to discharge the debts which have been incurred in its defence, is not to be doubted.—An inclination, I flatter myself, will not be wanting—The path of our duty is plain before us—Honesty, will be found, on every experiment, to be the best and only true policy.—Let us then, as a nation, be just—Let us fulfil the public contracts, which Congress had undoubtedly a right to make for the purpose of carrying on the war, with the same good faith we suppose ourselves bound to perform our private engagements—In the mean time, let an attention to the cheerful performance of their proper business, as individuals, and as members of society, be earnestly inculcated on the citizens of America ; then they will strengthen the hands of government, and be happy under its protection—every one will reap the fruit of his labors—every one will enjoy his own acquisitions, without molestation, and without danger.

In this state of absolute freedom and perfect security, who will grudge to yield a very little of his property to support the common interests of society, and ensure the protection of government ? Who does not remember the frequent declarations, at the commencement of the war, that we should be completely satisfied, if at the expence of one half, we could defend the remainder of our possessions ? Where is the man to be found, who wishes to remain indebted, for the defence of his own person and property, to the exertion, the bravery, and the blood of others, without making one generous effort to pay the debt of honor and of gratitude ? In what part of the continent shall we find any man, or body of men, who would not blush to stand up, and propose measures purposely calculated to rob the soldier of his stipend, and the public

public creditor of his due? And were it possible that such a flagrant instance of injustice could ever happen, would it not excite the general indignation, and tend to bring down upon the authors of such measures, the aggravated vengeance of heaven?

If, after all, a spirit of disunion, or a temper of obstinacy and perverseness should manifest itself in any of the States; if such an ungracious disposition should attempt to frustrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the union; if there should be a refusal to comply with requisitions for funds to discharge the annual interest of the public debts, and if that refusal should revive all those jealousies and produce all those evils which are now happily removed; Congress, who have in all their transactions shewn a great degree of magnanimity and justice, will stand justified in the sight of God and man; and that State alone, which puts itself in opposition to the aggregate wisdom of the continent, and follows such pernicious councils, will be responsible for all the consequences.

For my own part, conscious of having acted, while a servant of the public, in the manner I conceived suited to promote the real interests of my country; having, in consequence of my fixed belief, in some measure, pledged myself to the army, that their country would finally do them complete and ample justice, and not wishing to conceal any instance of my official conduct from the eyes of the world, I have thought proper to transmit to your Excellency, the inclosed collection of papers, relative to the half-pay and commutation granted by Congress, to the officers of the army;—from these communications, my decided sentiment will be clearly comprehended, together with the conclusive reasons which induced me, at an early period, to recommend the adoption of this measure in the most earnest and serious manner.

As the proceedings of Congress, the army, and myself are open to all, and contain, in my opinion, sufficient information to remove the prejudice and errors which may have been entertained by any, I think it unnecessary

to say any thing more, than just to observe, that the resolutions of Congress, now alluded to, are as undoubtedly and absolutely binding upon the United States, as the most solemn acts of confederation or legislation

As to the idea which, I am informed, has, in some instances prevailed, that the half-pay and commutation are to be regarded merely in the odious light of a pension, it ought to be exploded for ever;—that provision should be viewed, as it really was, a reasonable compensation offered by Congress, at a time when they had nothing else to give to officers of the army, for services then to be performed: It was the only means to prevent a total dereliction of the service. It was a part of their hire; I may be allowed to say, it was the price of their blood, and of your independence—it is therefore more than a common debt—it is a debt of honor,—it can never be considered as a pension or gratuity, nor be cancelled until it is fairly discharged.

With regard to a distinction between officers and soldiers, it is sufficient that the uniform experience of every nation of the world, combined with our own, proves the utility and propriety of the discrimination—Rewards in proportion to the aids the public derives from them, are unquestionably due to all its servants; in some lines, the soldiers have, perhaps, generally had as ample compensation for their services, by the large bounties which have been paid them, as their officers will receive in the proposed commutation; in others, if besides the donation of lands, the payment of arrearages of cloathing and wages (in which articles all the component parts of the army must be put upon the same footing) we take into the estimate, the bounties many of the soldiers have received, and the gratuity of one years full pay, which is promised to all, possibly their situation (every circumstance being duly considered) will not be deemed less eligible than that of their officers;—should a further reward, however, be judged equitable, I will venture to assert, no one will enjoy greater satisfaction than myself, on seeing an exemption from taxes for a limited time,

(which)

(which has been petitioned for in some instances) or any other adequate immunity, or compensation, granted to the brave defenders of their country's cause; but neither the adoption or rejection of this proposition will in any manner effect, much less militate against the act of Congress, by which they have offered five years full pay, in lieu of half pay for life, which has been before promised to the officers of the army.

Before I conclude the subject of public justice, I cannot omit to mention the obligations this country is under to that meritorious class of veteran non-commissioned officers, and privates, who have been discharged for inability, in consequence of the resolution of Congress, of the 23d of April 1782, on an annual pension for life;—their peculiar sufferings, their singular merits and claims to that provision, need only be known, to interest all the feelings of humanity in their behalf—nothing but a punctual payment of their annual allowance, can rescue them from the most complicated misery, and nothing could be a more melancholy and distressing sight, than to behold those who have shed their blood, or lost their limbs in the service of their country, without a shelter, without a friend, and without the means of obtaining any of the necessaries or comforts of life, compelled to beg their daily bread from door to door.—Suffer me to recommend those of this description, belonging to your state, to the warmest patronage of your Excellency and your legislature.

It is necessary to say but a few words on the *third* topic which was proposed, and which regards particularly the defence of the republic. As there can be little doubt but Congress will recommend a proper peace establishment for the United States, in which a due attention will be paid to the importance of placing the militia of the Union upon a regular and respectable footing; if this should be the case, I would beg leave to urge the great advantage of it in the strongest terms.—The militia of this country must be considered as the palladium of our security, and the first effectual resort in case of hostility;—

it is essential, therefore, that the same system should pervade the whole—that the formation and discipline of the militia of the continent, should be absolutely uniform, and that the same species of arms, accoutrements, and military apparatus, should be introduced in every part of the United States.—No one who has not learned from experience, can conceive the difficulty, expence, and confusion, which result from a contrary system, or the vague arrangements which have hitherto prevailed.

If in treating of political points, a greater latitude than usual has been taken in the course of this address—the importance of the crisis, and the magnitude of the objects in discussion, must be my apology ;—it is however, neither my wish nor expectation that the preceeding observations, should claim any regard, except so far as they shall appear to be dictated by a good intention, consonant to the immutable rules of justice, calculated to produce a liberal system of policy, and founded on whatever experience may have been acquired, by a long and close attention to public business.

Here I might speak with more confidence, from my actual observation ; and if it would not swell this letter, (already too prolix) beyond the bounds I had prescribed to myself, I could demonstrate to every mind open to conviction, that in less time, and with much less expence than has been incurred, the war might have been brought to the same happy conclusion, if the resources of the continent could have been properly called forth ; that the distresses and disappointments which have very often occurred, have, in too many instances, resulted more from a want of energy in the Continental Government, than a deficiency of means in the particular States : That the inefficacy of measures, arising from the want of an adequate authority in the supreme power, from a partial compliance with the requisitions of Congress, in some of the States, and from a failure of punctuality in others, while they tended to damn the zeal of those who were more willing to exert themselves, served also to accumulate the expences of the war, and to frustrate the best concerted

concerted plans; and that the discouragement occasioned by the complicated difficulties and embarrassments, in which our affairs were by this means involved, would have long ago produced the dissolution of any army, less patient, less virtuous, and less persevering, than that which I have the honor to command. But while I mention those things, which are notorious facts, as the defects of our federal constitution, particularly in the prosecution of a war, I beg it may be understood, that as I have ever taken a pleasure in gratefully acknowledging the assistance and support I have derived from every class of citizens; so shall I always be happy to do justice to the unparalleled exertions of the individual States, on many interesting occasions.

I have thus freely disclosed what I wished to make known, before I surrendered up my public trust to those who committed it to me. The task is now accomplished. I now bid adieu to your Excellency, as the Chief-Magistrate of your State; at the same time, I bid a last farewell to the cares of office, and all the employments of public life.

It remains then to be my final and only request, that your Excellency will communicate these sentiments to your legislature at their next meeting, and that they may be considered as the legacy of one, who has ardently wished on all occasions, to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the Divine benediction.

I now make it my earnest prayer, that God would have you, and the state over which you preside, in his holy protection,—that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government,—to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow citizens of the United States, and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field—and finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind, which were the character-

characteristics of the divine author of our blessed religion; and without an humble imitation of whose example in these things, we can never expect to be a happy nation.

I have the honor to be,

with great respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient
and very humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

C H A P. XXXI.

REMARKS on the MANNERS, GOVERNMENT, LAWS and DOMESTIC DEBT of America.

AFUNDAMENTAL mistake of the Americans has been, that they considered the revolution as completed, when it was but just begun. Having laid the pillars of the building, they ceased to exert themselves, and seemed to forget that the whole superstructure was then to be erected. This country is independent in government; but totally dependent in manners, which are the basis of government. Men seem not to attend to the difference between Europe and America, in point of age and improvement, and are disposed to rush, with heedless emulation, into an imitation of manners, for which we are not prepared.

Every person tolerably well versed in history, knows that nations are often compared to individuals and to vegetables, in their progress from their origin to maturity and decay. The resemblance is striking and just. This progress is as certain in nations as in vegetables; it is as obvious, and its cause more easily understood; in proportion as the secret springs of action in government are more easily explained, than the mechanical principles of vegetation.

This progress therefore being assumed as a conceded fact, suggests a forcible argument against the introduction of European manners into America. The business of men in society is, first, to secure their persons and estates by arms and wholesome laws—then to procure the conveniences

veniences of life by arts and labor;—but it is in the last stages only of national improvement, that luxury and amusements become public benefits, by dissipating accumulations of wealth, and furnishing employment and food for the poor. And luxury then is not beneficial except when the wealth of a nation is wasted within itself. It is perhaps always true, that an old civilized nation cannot, with propriety, be the model for an infant nation, either in morals, in manners or fashions, in literature, or in government.

A constant increase of wealth is ever followed with a multiplication of vices—this seems to be the destiny of human affairs; wisdom therefore directs us to retard, if possible, and not to accelerate the progress of corruption. But an introduction of the fashionable diversions of Europe into America, is an acceleration of the growth of vices which are yet in their infancy, and an introduction of new ones too infamous to be mentioned. A dancing-school among the Tuscaroras, is not a greater absurdity, than a masquerade in America. A theatre under the best regulations is not essential to our public and private happiness. It may afford entertainment to individuals; but it is at the expense of private taste and public morals. The great misfortune of all exhibitions of this kind is this; that they reduce all taste to a level. Not only the vices of all classes of people are brought into view, but of all ages and nations. The intrigues of a nobleman and the scurrility of shoe-blacks, are presented to the view of both sexes of all ages; the vices of the age of Elizabeth and of Charles II. are recorded by the masterly pens of a Shakespear and a Congreve, and by repeated representation, they are “hung on high,” as the Poet expresses it, “to poison half mankind.” The fact is, that all characters must be presented upon a theatre, because all characters are spectators; and a nobleman and a sailor, a duchess and a washer-woman that attend constantly on the exhibitions of vice, became equally depraved—their tastes will be nearly alike as to vice, the one is as prepared for a crime as the other. It is for this reason, that many of

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the amusements of nations more depraved than ourselves, are highly pernicious in this country. They carry us forward by hasty strides to the last stages of corruption; a period that every benevolent man will deprecate and endeavor to retard. This circumstance, the difference in the stages of our political existence, should make us shun the vices which may be polite and even necessary in older states: and endeavor to preserve our manners by being our own standards. By attaching ourselves to foreign manners, we counteract the good effects of the revolution; or rather render them incomplete. A revolution in the form of government, is but a revolution in name; unless attended with a change of principles and manners, which are the springs of government.

We are now in a situation to answer all the purposes of the European nations: independent in government and dependent in manners. They give us their fashions, they direct *our* taste, to make a market for *their* commodities—they engross the profits of our industry, without the hazard of defending us, or the expence of supporting our civil government. A situation more favourable to *their* interest, or more repugnant to *our own*, *they* could not have chosen for us, nor *we* embraced.

If such is the state of facts, and if the influence of foreign manners does actually defeat the purposes of the revolution; if our implicit submission to the prevailing taste of European courts, involves individuals and the public in unnecessary expences, it is in the power of a few influential characters in each of our commercial cities to remedy the whole evil. And in a reformation of this kind, the ladies would have no inconsiderable share.

It is really a matter of astonishment, that the pride of the Americans has so long submitted tamely to a foreign yoke. Aside of all regard to interest, we should expect that the idea of being a nation of apes would mortify minds accustomed to freedom of thought, and would prompt them to spurn their chains.

Have the ladies in America no ingenuity, no taste? Do they not understand what dresses are most convenient and

and elegant? What modes are best adapted to the climate, or other circumstances of this country? They most certainly do. Foreigners acknowledge that the native beauty and understanding of the American ladies are not excelled in any country and equalled in very few: And one would imagine that the modes of embellishing so many personal charms ought not, in all cases, to be prescribed by the milliners and mantua makers on the other side of the Atlantic.

When the gentlemen in America shall exercise spirit enough to be their own judges of taste in dress: when they have wisdom to consult the circumstances of this country, and fortitude to retain a fashion as long as their *own interest* requires, instead of changing it when *other nations* direct.—When the ladies shall exercise the right of their sex, and say, we will *give* the laws of fashion to our *own nation*, instead of receiving them from *another*; we will perform our part of the revolution.—When both sexes shall take more pride and pleasure in being their own standards, than in being the humble imitators of those who riot on the profits of our commerce, we shall realize a new species of independence—an independence flattering to generous minds, and more productive of wealth than all the laws of power, or the little arts of national policy. And in this revolution of manners, there needs not any sacrifice of real dress. I will venture to estimate, that the retrenching of superfluous articles, which constitute no part of dress, and serve but to disfigure an elegant person: articles that are made and sent to us, to support the six-penny day laborers of Europe; I say, a retrenching of those trifling articles only, would be an annual saving to America, sufficient to pay one half the interest of our federal debt. We can throw no blame on foreign nations; they are wise, and profit by our want of spirit and taste.

On the footing that all mankind are brethren, perhaps it is generous in us to assist foreigners, who are a part of the Great Family.

It is to be wished, however, that we might first dis-

charge our honest debts : That the soldier, whose labor and blood have purchased our empire, and whose services have been paid with a shadow of reward, might be indemnified by the justice of his country : that the widow and orphan might at least receive the stipulated satisfaction for losses which money cannot repair. Yes, let us first be *just* and then *generous*. When we have no better use for our superfluous property, then let us bestow it upon our wretched brethren of the human race. They will repay our charity with gratitude, and bless God that he has peopled one half the world with a race of free-men, to enrich the tyrants, and support the vassals of the other.

This same veneration for eminent foreigners and the bewitching charms of fashion have led the Americans to adopt the modern corruptions of our language. Very seldom have men examined the structure of the language, to find reasons for their practice. The pronunciation and use of words have been subject to the same arbitrary or accidental changes, as the shape of their garments. My lord wears a hat of a certain size and shape; he pronounces a word in a certain manner; and both must be right, for he is a fashionable man. In Europe this is right in dress; and men who have not an opportunity of learning the just rules of our language, are in some degree excusable for imitating those whom they consider as superiors. But in men of science, this imitation can hardly be excused.

I presume we may safely say, that our language has suffered more injurious changes in America, since the British army landed on our shores, than it had suffered before, in the period of three centuries. The bucks and bloods tell us that there is no proper standard in language; that it is all arbitrary. The assertion however, serves but to shew their ignorance. There are, in the language itself, decisive reasons for preferring one pronunciation to another; and men of science should be acquainted with these reasons. But if there were none, and every thing rested on practice, we should never change a general practice

practice without substantial reasons: no change should be introduced, which is not an obvious improvement.

But our leading characters seem to pay no regard to rules, or their former practice. To know and embrace every change made in Great Britain, whether right or wrong, is the extent of their enquiries, and the height of their ambition. It is to this deference we may ascribe the long catalogue of errors in pronunciation, and of false idioms which disfigure the language of our mighty fine speakers. And should this imitation continue, we shall be hurried down the stream of corruption, with older nations, and our language, with theirs, be lost in an ocean of perpetual changes. The only hope we can entertain is, that America, driven by the shock of a revolution, from the rapidity of the current, may glide along near the margin with a gentler stream, and sometimes be wafted back by an eddy.

It is perhaps a fundamental principle of government, that men are influenced more by habit, than by any abstract ideas of right and wrong. Few people examine into the propriety of particular usages or laws: or if they examine, few indeed are capable of comprehending their propriety. But every man knows what is a law or general practice, and he conforms to it, not because it is right or best, but because it has been the practice. It is for this reason that habits of obedience should not be disturbed. There are perhaps in every government, some laws and customs, which, when examined on theoretical principles, will be found unjust and even impolitic. But if the people acquiesce in those laws and customs, if they are attached to them by habit, it is wrong in the legislature to attempt an innovation which shall alarm their apprehensions. There are multitudes of absurdities practised in society, in which people are evidently happy. Arraign those absurdities before the tribunal of examination—people may be convinced of their impropriety—they may even be convinced that better schemes can be projected—and yet it might be impossible to unite their opinions so as to establish different maxims. On the other hand, there are

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many good institutions, in which, however, there may be theoretical faults, which, if called into public view and artfully represented, might shake the best government on earth.

Speculative philosophers and historians have often described, and sometimes ridiculed the warmth with which nations have defended errors in religion and government. With the most profound deference for wise and respectable men, I must think they are guilty of a mistake; and that the errors which nations fight to defend, exist only in the heads of these theorists. Whatever speculation may tell us, experience and the peace of society require us to consider every thing as right, which a nation believes to be so. Every institution, every custom, may be deemed just and proper, which does not produce inconveniences that the bulk of mankind can see and feel. The tranquility of society therefore should never be disturbed for a philosophical distinction.

It will perhaps be objected, that these doctrines, if practised, would prevent all improvements, in science, religion, and government. By no means: but they point out the method in which all improvements should be made, when opinion and fixed habits are to be overthrown, or changed. They show that all reformation should be left to the natural progress of society, or to the conviction of the mind. They show the hazard or impracticability of changes, before the minds of the body of the people are prepared for the innovation. I speak not of despotic governments, where the will of the prince is enforced by an army; and yet even absolute tyrants have been assassinated for not attending to the spirit and habits of their subjects.

In vain do rulers oppose the general opinion of the people. By such opposition, Philip II. of Spain, kept one part of his subjects, for half a century, butchering the other, and in the end, lost one third of his dominions. By not regarding the change of habits in the nation, Charles I. of England lost his head. By carrying his changes too far, Cromwell began to oppose the spirit of the

the nation, and had he lived to prosecute his system, that spirit would, in a few years, have brought his neck to the block. The general spirit of the nation restored to the throne the son of the prince, whom that spirit had but a few years before arraigned and condemned. By opposing that spirit, James was obliged to leave his kingdom, and the sense of the nation still excludes the family which, by their own law of succession, has the best title to the throne. But there is no prescription against general opinion—no right that can enter the list against the sense of a nation—that sense, which after all our reasonings, will for ever determine what is best.

The truth of these remarks is proved by examples in this country. An immense revenue might have been drawn from America without resistance, in almost any method but that which the British parliament adopted. But their first attempts were made upon articles of common necessity—the attempts were too visible—the people felt and resisted. Their apprehensions were alarmed—their fears, whether well founded or imaginary, were multiplied and confirmed by newspaper rhapsodies, and finally produced a combined opposition to all British taxation. Then Great Britain should have compounded—she did not—she opposed the general sense of two millions of her subjects, and lost the whole.

But a question will arise, how far may the people be opposed, when their schemes are evidently pernicious? I answer, this can never happen thro' design—and errors even of the populace may gradually be removed. If the people cannot be convinced, by reason and argument, of the impolicy or injustice of a favorite scheme, we have only to wait for the consequences to produce conviction. All people are not capable of just reasoning on the great scale of politics—but all can feel the inconveniences of wrong measures, and evils of this kind generally furnish their own remedy. All popular legislatures are liable to great mistakes. Many of the acts of the American legislatures respecting money and commerce, will, to future generations, appear incredible. After repeated experi-

ments, people will be better informed, and astonished that their fathers could make such blunders in legislation.

But let us attend to the immediate and necessary consequences of the American revolution.

So great an event as that of detaching millions of people from their parent nation, could not have been effected without the operation of powerful causes. Nothing but a series of real or imaginary evils could have shaken the habits by which we were governed, and produced a combined opposition against the power of Great Britain. I shall not enumerate any of these evils; but observe that such evils, by twenty years operation upon the fears or feelings of the Americans, had alienated their affections or weakened those habits of respect, by which we were predisposed to voluntary obedience. When a government has lost respect, it has lost the main pillar of its authority. Not even a military force can supply the want of respect among subjects. A change of sentiment prepares the way for a change of government, and when that change of sentiment had become general in America, nothing could have prevented a revolution.

But it is more easy to excite fears than to remove them. The jealousy raised in the minds of Americans against the British government, wrought a revolution; but the spirit did not then subside—it changed its object, and by the arts of designing men, and the real distresses consequent on such a political storm, was directed against our own government. The restraints imposed by respect and habits of obedience were broken thro', and the licentious passions of men set afloat.

Nothing can be so fatal to morals and the peace of society, as a violent shock given to public opinion or fixed habits. Polemic disputes have often destroyed the friendship of a church and filled it, not only with rancor, but with immorality. Public opinion therefore in religion and government, the great supports of society, should never be suddenly unhinged. The separation of America, however, from all dependence on European government,

ment, could not have been effected without previously attacking and changing opinion. It was an essential step—but the effects of it will not easily be repaired. That independence of spirit which preceded the commencement of hostilities, and which victory has strengthened—that love of dominion, inherent in the mind of man, which our forms of government are continually flattering—that licentiousness of enquiry which a jealousy of rights first produced and still preserves, cannot be controlled and subdued, but by a long series of prudent and vigorous measures.

Perhaps the present age will hardly see the restoration of perfect tranquility. But the spirit and principles, which wrought our separation from Great Britain, will mostly die with the present generation; the next generation will probably have new habits of obedience to our governments; and habits will govern them, with very little support from law.

Most of the states had new constitutions of government to form; they had a kind of interregnum; an interval, when respect for all government was suspended; an interval fatal in the last degree, to morals and social confidence. This interval between the abolition of the old constitution and the formation of a new one, lasted longer in Massachusetts than in the other states, and there the effects were most visible. But perhaps it is impossible to frame a constitution of government, in the closet, which will suit the people, for it is frequent to find one, the most perfect in theory, the most objectionable in practice. Hence we often hear popular complaints against the present governments in America: and yet these may proceed rather from the novelty of the obedience required, than from any real errors or defects in the systems: it may be nothing but the want of habit which makes people uneasy—the same articles which now produce clamors and discontent, may, after twenty years practice, give perfect satisfaction. Nay, the same civil regulation which, the present generation may raise a mob to resist, the next generation may raise a mob to defend.

But

But perhaps a more immediate and powerful cause of a corruption of social principles, is a fluctuation of money. Few people seem to attend to the connection between money and morals: but it may doubtless be proved to the satisfaction of every reflecting mind, that a sudden increase of specie in a country, and frequent and obvious changes of value, are more fruitful sources of corruption of morals, than any events that take place in a community.

The first effect of too much money is to check manual labor, the only permanent source of wealth. Industry which secures subsistence and advances our interest by slow and regular gains, is the best preservative of morals: for it keeps men employed, and affords them few opportunities of taking unfair advantages. A regular commerce has nearly the same effect as agriculture or the mechanic arts; for the principles are generally fixed and understood.

Speculation has the contrary effect. As its calculations for profit depend on no fixed principles, but solely on the different value of articles in different parts of the country, or on accidental and sudden variations of value, it opens a field for the exercise of ingenuity in taking advantage of these circumstances.

But the speculators are not the only men whose character and principles are exposed by such a state of the currency; the honest laborer and the regular merchant are often tempted to forsake the established principles of advance. Every temptation of this kind attacks the moral principles, and exposes men to small deviations from the rectitude of commutative justice.

Dissipation was another consequence of a flood of money. No country perhaps on earth can exhibit such a spirit of dissipation among men, who derive their support from business, as America.—It is supposed by good judges, that the expences of subsistence, dress and equipage, were nearly doubled in commercial towns, the two first years after peace. I have no doubt the support of the common people was enhanced 25 per cent.

This

This augmentation of expences, with a diminution of productive industry, are the consequences of too much money.

That instability of law, to which republics are prone, is another source of corruption. Multiplication and changes of law have a great effect in weakening the force of government, by preventing or destroying habits. Law acquires force by a steady operation, and government acquires dignity and respect, in proportion to the uniformity of its proceedings. Necessity perhaps has made our federal and provincial governments frequently shift their measures, and the unforeseen or unavoidable variations of public securities, with the impossibility of commanding the resources of the continent, to fulfil engagements, all predict a continuation of the evil. But the whole wisdom of legislatures should be exerted to devise a system of measures which may preclude the necessity of changes that tend to bring government into contempt.

Extensive credit, in a popular government, is always pernicious, and may be fatal. When the people are deeply or generally involved, they have power and strong temptations to introduce an abolition of debts ; an agrarian law, or that modern refinement on the Roman plan, which is a substitute for both, a paper currency, issued on depreciating principles.

In governments like ours, it is policy to make it the interest of people to be honest. In short, the whole art of governing consists in binding each individual by his particular interest, to promote the aggregate interest of the community.

Laws to prevent credit would be beneficial to poor people. With respect to the contraction of debt, people at large, in some measure, resemble children : they are not judges even of their own interest. They anticipate their incomes, and very often, by miscalculation, much more than their incomes.—But this is not the worst effect—an easy credit throws them off their guard in their expences. In general we observe that a slow, laborious acquisition of property creates a caution in expenditures, and gradually

dually forms the miser. On the other hand, a sudden acquisition of money, either by gambling, lotteries, privateering, or marriage, has a tendency to open the heart, or throw the man off his guard, and thus make him prodigal in his expences. Perhaps this is ever the case, except when a penurious habit has been previously formed.

An easy and extensive credit has a similiar effect. When people can possess themselves of property without previous labour, they consume it with improvident liberality. A prudent man will not; but a large proportion of mankind have not prudence and fortitude enough to resist the demands of pride and appetite. Thus they often riot on other men's property, which they would not labor to procure. They form habits of indolence and extravagance, which ruin their families, and impoverish their creditors.

The only way to become rich at home and respectable abroad, is to become industrious, and to throw off our slavish dependence on foreign manners, which obliges us to sacrifice our opinions, our taste, and our interest, to the policy and aggrandisement of other nations.

LESSONS IN SPEAKING.

ORATION, delivered at Boston, March 5, 1772, by Dr. JOSEPH WARREN; in commemoration of the evening of the fifth of March, 1770: when a number of Citizens were killed by a party of the British troops, quartered among them, in a time of peace.

*Quis talia fando,
Myrmidonum, Dolopumve, aut duri miles Ulysseni,
Temperet a lacrymis.*

VIRGIL.

WHEN we turn over the historic page, and trace the rise and fall of states and empires; the mighty revolutions which have so often varied the face of the world, strike our minds with solemn surprise, and we are naturally led to search for the causes of such astonishing changes.

That man is formed for *social life*, is an observation which, upon our first enquiry, presents itself to our view. Government hath its origin in the *weakness* of individuals, and hath for its end, the *strength* and *security* of all; and so long as the means of effecting this important end, are thoroughly known, and religiously attended to, government is one of the richest blessings to mankind, and ought to be held in the highest veneration.

In young and new-formed communities, the grand design of this institution, is most generally understood, and most strictly regarded; the motives which urged to the social compact, cannot be at once forgotten, and *that equality* which is remembered to have subsisted so lately among them, prevents those who are cloathed with authority from attempting to invade the freedom of their brethren; or if such an attempt is made, it prevents the community from suffering the offender to go unpunished: every

every member feels it to be his interest, and knows it to be his duty, to preserve inviolate the constitution on which the public safety depends, and is equally ready to assist the *magistrate* in the execution of the laws, and the *subject* in defence of his right. So long as the noble attachment to a constitution, founded on free and benevolent principles, exists in full vigor, in any state, *that* state must be flourishing and happy.

It was this noble attachment to a free constitution, which raised ancient Rome from the smallest beginnings, to that bright summit of happiness and glory to which she arrived ; and it was the loss of *this* which plunged her from *that* summit, into the black gulph of infamy and slavery. It was *this* attachment which inspired her senators with wisdom; it was *this* which glowed in the breasts of her heroes; it was *this* which guarded her liberties, and extended her dominions, gave peace at home, and commanded respect abroad: and when *this* decayed, her magistrates lost their reverence for justice and laws, and degenerated into tyrants and oppressors—her senators, forgetful of their dignity, and seduced by base corruption, betrayed their country—her soldiers, regardless of their relation to the community, and urged *only* by the hopes of plunder and rapine, unfeelingly committed the most flagrant enormities; and hired to the trade of death, with relentless fury they perpetrated the most cruel murders; by which the streets of imperial Rome were drenched with her *noblest* blood. Thus *this empress* of the world lost her dominions abroad, and her inhabitants, dissolute in their manners, at length became contented *slaves*; and she stands to this day, the scorn and derision of nations, and a monument of this eternal truth, that *public happiness depends on a virtuous and unshaken attachment to a free constitution.*

It was *this* attachment to a constitution, founded on free and benevolent principles, which inspired the first settlers of this country:—they saw with grief the daring outrages committed on the free constitution of their native

tive land—they knew that nothing but a civil war could at that time restore its pristine purity. So hard was it to resolve to embrue their hands in the *blood* of their brethren, that they chose rather to quit their fair possessions, and seek another habitation in a distant clime. When they came to this new world, which they fairly purchased of the Indian natives, the only rightful proprietors, they cultivated the then barren soil, by their incessant labor, and defended their dear-bought possessions with the fortitude of the christian, and the bravery of the hero.

After various struggles, which, during the tyrannic reigns of the house of STUART, were constantly maintained between right and wrong, between liberty and slavery, the connection between Great Britain and this colony, was settled in the reign of king William and queen Mary, by a compact, the conditions of which, were expressed in a charter; by which all the liberties and immunities of British subjects, were secured to this province, as fully and as absolutely as they possibly could be by any human instrument which can be devised. It is undeniably true, that the greatest and most important right of a British subject is, that *he shall be governed by no laws but those to which he, either in person or by his representative, hath given his consent*: and this I will venture to assert, is the grand basis of British freedom; it is interwoven with the constitution; and whenever this is lost, the constitution must be destroyed.

Let us now allow ourselves a few moments to examine the *late acts of the British parliament for taxing America*.—Let us with candor judge whether they are constitutionally binding upon us:—if they are, *in the name of justice*, let us submit to them, without one murmuring word.

First, I would ask, whether the members of the British House of Commons, are the democracy of this province? If they are, they are either the people of this province, or are elected by the people of this province, to represent them, and have therefore a constitutional right to originate a bill for taxing them: it is most certain they

U *under you know: are*

are neither; and therefore nothing done by *them* can be said to be done by the democratic branch of our constitution. I would next ask, whether the lords, who compose the aristocratic branch of the legislature, are peers of America? I never heard it was (even in these extraordinary times) so much as pretended, and if they are not, certainly no act of *theirs* can be said to be the act of the aristocratic branch of our constitution. The power of the monarchic branch we with pleasure acknowledge, resides in the king, who may act either in person or by his representative; and I freely confess that I can see no reason why a PROCLAMATION for raising money in America, issued by the king's sole authority, would not be equally consistent with our own constitution, and therefore equally binding upon us with the *late acts of the British parliament for taxing us*: for it is plain, that if there is any validity in *those acts*, it must arise altogether from the monarchical branch of the legislature: and I further think that it would be at least as equitable; for I do not conceive it to be of the least importance to us by whom our property is taken away, so long as it is taken without our consent. I am very much at a loss to know by what figure of rhetoric, the inhabitants of this province can be called *free subjects*, when they are obliged to obey implicitly, such laws as are made for them by men three thousand miles off, whom they know not, and whom they never have empowered to act for them; or how they can be said to have *property*, when a body of men, over whom they have not the least control, and who are not in any way accountable to them, shall oblige them to deliver up any part, or the whole of their substance, without even asking their consent. And yet, whoever pretends that the *late acts of the British parliament for taxing America*, ought to be deemed binding upon us, must admit at once that we are absolute *SLAVES*; and have no property of our own; or else that we may be *FREEMEN*, and at the same time, under a necessity of obeying the *arbitrary commands of those* over whom we have no control nor influence; and that we may have

property

property of our own, which is entirely at the disposal of another. Such gross absurdities, I believe will not be relished in this enlightened age : and it can be no matter of wonder that the people quickly perceived, and seriously complained of the inroads which these acts must unavoidably make upon their *liberty*, and of the hazard to which their *whole property* is by *them* exposed ; for if they may be taxed without their consent, even in the smallest trifles, they may also, without their consent, be deprived of every thing they possess, although ever so valuable, ever so dear. Certainly it never entered the hearts of our ancestors, that after so many dangers in this then desolate wilderness, their hard-earned property should be at the disposal of the British parliament ; and as it was soon found that this taxation could not be supported by reason and argument, it seemed necessary that one act of oppression should be enforced by another, and therefore, contrary to our just rights as possessing, or at least having a just title to possess, all the *liberties* and *immunities* of British subjects, a standing army was established among us in a time of peace ; and evidently for the purpose of effecting *that*, which it was one principal design of the founders of the constitution to prevent (when they declared a standing army in a time of peace to be *against law*) namely, for the enforcement of obedience to acts which, upon fair examination, appeared to be unjust and unconstitutional.

The ruinous consequences of standing armies to free communities, may be seen in the histories of *Syracuse*, *Rome*, and many other once flourishing *States* ; some of which have now scarce a name ! their baneful influence is most suddenly felt, when they are placed in populous cities ; for, by a corruption of morals, the public happiness is immediately affected. That this is one of the effects of quartering troops in a populous city, is a truth, to which many a mourning parent, many a lost, despairing child in this metropolis, must bear a very melancholy testimony.—Soldiers are also taught to consider arms as the only arbiters by which every dispute is to be decided between

between contending states ; they are instructed implicitly to obey their commanders, without enquiring into the justice of the cause they are engaged to support : hence it is, that they are ever to be dreaded as the ready engines of tyranny and oppression.—And it is too observable that they are prone to introduce the same mode of decision in the disputes of individuals, and from thence have often arisen great animosities between *them* and the *inhabitants*, who, whilst in a naked defenceless state, are frequently insulted and abused by an armed soldiery. And this will be more especially the case, when the troops are informed that the intention of their being stationed in any city, is to *overawe the inhabitants*. That this was the avowed design of stationing an armed force in this town, is sufficiently known ; and we, my fellow-citizens, have seen, we have felt the tragical effects ! *The FATAL FIFTH OF MARCH, 1770, can never be forgotten*—The horrors of that dreadful night are but too deeply impressed on our hearts—Language is too feeble to paint the emotions of our souls, when our streets were stained with the blood of our brethren,—when our ears were wounded by the groans of the dying, and our eyes were tormented with the sight of the mangled bodies of the dead.—When our alarmed imagination presented to our view our houses wrapt in flames,—our children subjected to the barbarous caprice of the raging soldiery,—our beauteous virgins exposed to all the insolence of unbridled passion,—our virtuous wives, endeared to us by every tender tie, falling a sacrifice to worse than brutal violence, and perhaps, like the famed *Lucretia*, distracted with anguish and despair, ending their wretched lives by their own fair hands.—When we beheld the authors of our distress parading in our streets, or drawn up in regular battalia, as though in a hostile city, our hearts beat to arms ; we snatched our weapons, almost resolved, by one decisive stroke, to avenge the death of our slaughtered brethren, and to secure from future danger, all that we held most dear ; but propitious heaven forbade the bloody carnage, and saved the threatened victims of our too keen resentment.

ment, not by their discipline, not by their regular array,—no, it was royal George's livery that proved their shield—it was that which turned the pointed engines of destruction from their breasts. The thoughts of vengeance were soon buried in our inbred affection to Great Britain, and calm reason dictated a method of removing the troops, more mild than an immediate recourse to the sword. With united efforts you urged the immediate departure of the troops from the town—you urged it, with a resolution which ensured success—you obtained your wishes, and the removal of the troops was effected, without one drop of *their blood* being shed by the inhabitants.

The immediate actors in the tragedy of *that night* were surrendered to justice.—It is not mine to say how far they were guilty! they have been tried by the country and **ACQUITTED** of murder! and they are not to be again arraigned at an earthly bar; but, surely the men who have promiscuously scattered *death* amidst the *innocent* inhabitants of a populous city, ought to see well to it, that they be prepared to stand at the bar of an omniscient Judge! and all who contrived or encouraged the stationing troops in this place, have reasons of eternal importance, to reflect with deep contrition, on their base designs, and humbly to repent of their impious machinations.

The voice of your fathers blood cries to you from the ground; *My sons scorn to be SLAVES!* in vain we met the frowns of tyrants—in vain, we crossed the boisterous ocean, found a new world, and prepared it for the happy residence of *Liberty*—in vain we toiled—in vain we fought—we bled in vain, if you, our offspring want valor to repel the assaults of her invaders!—Stain not the glory of your worthy ancestors, but like them resolve, never to part with your birth-right; be wise in your deliberations, and determined in your exertions for the preservation of your liberty.—Follow not the dictates of passion, but enlist yourselves under the sacred banner of reason; use every method in your power to secure your

rights; at least prevent the curses of posterity from being heaped upon your memories.

If you, with united zeal and fortitude, oppose the torrent of oppression; if you feel the true fire of patriotism burning in your breasts; if you, from your souls, despise the most gaudy dress that slavery can wear; if you really prefer the lonely cottage (whilst blest with liberty) to gilded palaces, surrounded with the ensigns of slavery, you may have the fullest assurance that tyranny, with her whole accursed train, will hide their hideous heads in confusion, shame and despair—if you perform your part, you must have the strongest confidence, that *the same Almighty Being* who protected your pious and venerable forefathers—who enabled them to turn a barren wilderness into a fruitful field, who so often *made bare his arm* for their salvation, will still be mindful of you their offspring.

May this ALMIGHTY BEING graciously preside in all our councils—May he direct us to such measures as he himself shall approve, and be pleased to bless.—*May we ever be favored of God.*—May our land be a land of liberty, the seat of virtue, the asylum of the oppressed, a name and a praise in the whole earth, until the last shock of time shall bury the empires of the world in undistinguished ruin!

ORATION, delivered at Boston, March 5, 1774; by
the honorable JOHN HANCOCK, Esq. in commemoration
of the evening of the fifth of March, 1770: when a num-
ber of the Citizens were killed by a party of the British
troops, quartered among them, in a time of peace.

*Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem
Imposuit: fixit leges pretio atque refixit.
Non, mihi si linguae centum sint, craque centum,
Ferrea vox, omnes scelerum compendere formas,*
————— possim. VIRG.

Men, Brethren, Fathers, and Fellow-Countrymen!

THE attentive gravity; the venerable appearance of this crowded audience; the dignity which I behold in the countenances of so many in this great assembly; the solemnity of the occasion upon which we have met together, joined to a consideration of the part I am to take in the important business of this day, fill me with an awe hitherto unknown; and heighten the sense which I have ever had, of my unworthiness to fill this sacred desk. But, allured by the call of some of my respected fellow-citizens, with whose request it is always my greatest pleasure to comply, I almost forgot my want of ability to perform what they required. In this situation I find my only support, in assuring myself that a generous people will not severely censure what they knew was well intended, though its want of merit, should prevent their being able to applaud it. And I pray, that my sincere attachment to the interest of my country, and hearty detestation of every design formed against her liberties, may be admitted as some apology for my appearance in this place.

I have always, from my earliest youth, rejoiced in the felicity of my fellow men; and have ever considered it as the indispensable duty of every member of society to promote, as far as in him lies, the prosperity of every individual,

vidual, but more especially of the community to which he belongs ; and also, as a faithful subject of the state, to use his utmost endeavors to detect, and having detected, strenuously to oppose every traitorous plot which its enemies may devise for its destruction. Security to the persons and properties of the governed, is so obviously the design and end of civil government, that to attempt a logical proof of it, would be like burning tapers at noon-day, to assist the sun in enlightening the world. It cannot be either virtuous or honorable, to attempt to support a government, of which this is not the great and principal basis ; and it is to the last degree vicious and infamous to attempt to support a government, which manifestly tends to render the persons and properties of the governed insecure. Some boast of being *friends to government* ; I am a friend to *righteous government*, to a government founded upon the principles of reason and justice ; but I glory in publicly avowing my eternal enmity to tyranny. Is the present system which the British administration have adopted for the government of the colonies, a righteous government ? or is it tyranny ?—Here suffer me to ask (and would to heaven there could be an answer) what tenderness, what regard, respect, or consideration has *Great-Britain* shewn, in their late transactions, for the security of the persons or properties of the inhabitants of the colonies ? or rather, what have they omitted doing to destroy that security ? they have declared that they have, ever had, and of right ought ever to have, full power to make laws of sufficient validity to bind the colonies in all cases whatever : They have exercised this pretended right, by imposing a tax upon us without our consent ; and lest we should shew some reluctance at parting with our property, her fleets and armies are sent to support their mad pretensions. The town of Boston, ever faithful to the British crown, has been invested by a British fleet : The troops of George the III. have cross'd the wide Atlantic, not to engage an enemy, but to assist a band of *Traitors*, in trampling on the rights and liberties of his most loyal subjects in

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America,—those rights and liberties which, as a father, he ought ever to regard, and as a king, he is bound, in honor, to defend from violation, even at the risque of his own life.

Let not the history of the illustrious house of Brunswick inform posterity, that a king, descended from that glorious monarch George the II. once sent his British subjects to conquer and enslave his subjects in America; but be perpetual infamy entail'd upon that villain who dared to advise his master to such execrable measures; for it was easy to foresee the consequences which so naturally followed upon sending troops into America, to enforce obedience to acts of the British parliament, which neither God nor man ever empowered them to make. It was reasonable to expect that troops, who knew the errand they were sent upon, would treat the people whom they were to subjugate, with cruelty and haughtiness, which too often buries the honorable character of a *soldier*, in the disgraceful name of an *unfeeling ruffian*. The troops, upon their first arrival, took possession of our senate-house, and pointed their cannon against the judgment-hall, and even continued them there, whilst the supreme court of judicature for this province was actually sitting, to decide upon the lives and fortunes of the king's subjects. Our streets nightly resounded with the noise of riot and debauchery; our peaceful citizens were hourly exposed to shameful insults, and often felt the effects of their violence and outrage.—But this was not all, as though they thought it not enough to violate our civil rights, they endeavored to deprive us of the enjoyment of our religious privileges; to viciate our morals, and thereby render us deserving of destruction. Hence the rude din of arms which broke in upon your solemn devotions in your temples, on that day hallowed by heaven, and set apart by God himself, for his peculiar worship. Hence, impious oaths, and blasphemies so often tortur'd your unaccustomed ear! Hence, all the arts which idleness and luxury could invent, were used, to betray our youth of one sex, into extravagance and effeminacy, and of the other

to infamy and ruin; and did they not succeed but too well? did not a reverence for religion sensibly decay? did not our infants almost learn to lisp out curses before they knew their horrid import? did not our youth forget they were Americans, and regardless of their admonitions of the wise and aged, servilely copy from their tyrants vices which finally must overthrow the empire of Great-Britain? and must I be impelled to acknowledge, that even the noblest, fairest part of all the lower creation did not entirely escape the cursed snare? when virtue has once erected her throne within the female breast, it is upon so solid a basis that nothing is able to expel the heavenly inhabitant. But have there not been some, few indeed, I hope, whose youth and inexperience have render'd them a prey to wretches, whom, upon the least reflection, they would have despised and hated, as foes to God and their country? I fear there have been some such unhappy instances; or why have I seen an honest father cloathed with shame; or why a virtuous mother drowned in tears?

But I forbear, and come reluctantly to the transactions of that dismal night, when in such quick succession we felt the extremes of grief, astonishment and rage; when heaven in anger, for a dreadful moment, suffer'd hell to take the reins; when Satan with his chosen band open'd the sluices of New-England's blood, and sacrilegiously polluted our land with the dead bodies of her guiltless sons. Let this sad tale of death never be told without a tear: Let not the heaving bosom cease to burn with a manly indignation at the barbarous story, through the long tracts of future time: Let every parent tell the shameful story to his listening children, 'till tears of pity glisten in their eyes, and boiling passion shake their tender frames; and whilst the anniversary of that ill-fated night, is kept a jubilee in the grim court of Pandæmonium, let all America join in one common prayer to heaven, that the inhuman, unprovoked murders of the fifth of March, 1770, planned by Hillsborough, and a knot of treacherous knaves in Boston, and executed by the cruel hand of Preston and his sanguinary coadjuters, may ever stand

stand on history without a parallel. But what, my countrymen, withheld the ready arm of vengeance from executing instant justice on the vile assassins? perhaps you feared promiscuous carnage might ensue, and that the innocent might share the fate of those who had performed the infernal deed. But were not all guilty? were you not too tender of the lives of those who came to fix a yoke on your necks? but I must not too severely blame a fault, which great souls only can commit. May that magnificence of spirit which scorns the low pursuits of malice; may that generous compassion which often preserves from ruin, even a guilty villain, for ever actuate the noble bosoms of Americans!—But let not the miscreant host vainly imagine that we feared their arms. No, them we despised; we dread nothing but slavery. Death is the creature of a poltroon's brain; 'tis immortality to sacrifice ourselves for the salvation of our country. We fear not death. That gloomy night, the pale-faced moon, and the affrighted stars that hurried through the sky, can witness that we fear not death. Our hearts, which at the recollection, glow with a rage that four revolving years have scarcely taught us to restrain, can witness that we fear not death; and happy 'tis for those who dared to insult, that their naked bones are not now piled up an everlasting monument of Massachusetts' bravery. But they retir'd, they fled, and in that flight they found their only safety. We then expected that the hand of public justice would soon inflict that punishment upon the murderers, which, by the laws of God and man, they had merited. But let the unbias'd pen of a Robertson, or perhaps of some equally fam'd American, conduct this trial before the great tribunal of succeeding generations. And though the murderers may escape the just resentment of an enraged people; though drowsy justice, intoxicated by the poisonous draught prepared for her cup, still nods upon her rotten seat, yet be assured, such complicated crimes will meet their due reward. Tell me, ye bloody butchers! ye villains high and low! ye wretches who contrived, as well as you who executed

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the inhuman deed ! do you not feel the goads and stings of conscious guilt, pierce through your savage bosoms ? though some of you may think yourselves exalted to a height that bids defiance to the arms of human justice, and others shroud yourselves beneath the mask of hypocrisy, and build your hopes of safety on the low arts of cunning, chicanery, and falsehood ; yet, do you not sometimes feel the gnawings of that worm which never dies ? do not the injured shades of Maverick, Gray, Caldwell, Attucks, and Car, * attend you in your solitary walks, arrest you even in the midst of your debaucheries, and fill even your dreams with terror ? but if the unappeased manes of the dead should not disturb their murderers, yet surely even your obdurate hearts must shrink, and your guilty blood must chill within your rigid veins, when you behold the miserable Monk, the wretched victim of your savage cruelty. Observe his tottering knees which scarce sustain his wasted body ; look on his haggard eyes ; mark well the death-like paleness of his fallen cheek, and tell me, does not the sight plant daggers in your souls. Unhappy Monk ! cut off in the gay morn of manhood, from all the joys which sweeten life, doom'd to drag on a pitiful existence, without even a hope to taste the pleasures of returning health ! yet Monk, thou livest not in vain ; thou livest a warning to thy country, which sympathizes with thee in thy sufferings ; thou livest an affecting, an alarming instance of the unbounded violence which lust of power, assisted by a standing army, can lead a traitor to commit.

For us he bled, and now languishes. The wounds by which he is tortur'd to a lingering death, were aimed at our country ! surely the meek-eyed charity can never behold such sufferings with indifference. Nor can her lenient hand forbear to pour oil and wine into these wounds ; and to assuage at least, what it cannot heal.

Patriotism is ever united with humanity and compassion. This noble affection which impels us to sacrifice every thing dear, even life itself, to our country, involves

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* Persons slain on the 5th of March, 1770.

in it a common sympathy and tenderness for every citizen, and must ever have a *particular feeling* for one who suffers in a public cause. Thoroughly persuaded of this, I need not add a word to engage your compassion and bounty towards a fellow citizen, who, with long protracted anguish, falls a victim to the relentless rage of our common enemies.

Ye dark designing knaves, ye murderers, parricides! how dare you tread upon the earth, which has drank in the blood of slaughtered innocents, shed by your wicked hands? how dare you breathe that air which wafted to the ear of heaven, the groans of those who fell a sacrifice to your accursed ambition? but if the laboring earth doth not expand her jaws; if the air you breathe is not commissioned to be the minister of death; yet, hear it, and tremble! the eye of heaven penetrates the darkest chambers of the soul, traces the leading clue through all the labyrinths which your industrious folly had devised; and you, however you may have screen'd yourselves from human eyes, must be arraigned, must lift your hands, red with the blood of those whose death you have procured, at the tremendous bar of God.

The first PETITION of CONGRESS to the KING, in 1774.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusett-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of New-Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in general Congress, by this our humble petition, beg leave to lay our grievances before the throne.

A standing army has been kept in these colonies ever

since the conclusion of the late war, without the consent of our assemblies; and this army, with a considerable naval armament, has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes.

The authority of the commander in chief, and under him of the brigadiers-general has, in time of peace, been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America.

The commander in chief of all your majesty's forces in North-America has, in time of peace, been appointed governor of a colony.

The charges of usual offices have been greatly increased; and new, expensive and oppressive offices have been multiplied.

The judges of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are empowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves.

The officers of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses without the authority of any civil magistrate founded on legal information.

The judges of courts of common law have been made entirely dependent on one part of the legislature for their salaries, as well as for the duration of their commissions.

Counsellors holding commissions during pleasure, exercise legislative authority.

Humble and reasonable petitions from the representatives of the people have been fruitless.

The agents of the people have been discountenanced, and governors have been instructed to prevent the payment of their salaries.

Assemblies have been repeatedly and injuriously dissolved.

Commerce has been burdened with many useless and oppressive restrictions.

By several acts of parliament made in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth years of your majesty's reign, duties are imposed on us, for the purpose of raising a revenue; and the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty-courts are extended beyond their ancient limits; where-

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by our property is taken from us without our consent, the trial by jury in many civil cases is abolished, enormous forfeitures are incurred for slight offences, vexatious informers are exempted from paying damages, to which they are justly liable, and oppressive security is required from owners before they are allowed to defend their right.

Both houses of parliament have resolved, that colonists may be tried in England for offences alledged to have been committed in America, by virtue of a statute passed in the thirty-fifth year of Henry the eighth; and in consequence thereof attempts have been made to enforce that statute.

A statute was passed in the twelfth year of your majesty's reign, directing, that persons charged with committing any offence therein described, in any place out of the realm, may be indicted and tried for the same, in any shire or county within the realm, whereby inhabitants of these colonies may, in sundry cases by that statute made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinage.

In the last session of Parliament, an act was passed for blocking up the harbour of Boston; another empowering the governor of the Massachusetts-Bay to send persons indicted for murder in that province to another colony, or even to Great-Britain for trial, whereby such offenders may escape legal punishment; a third for altering the chartered constitution of government in that province; and a fourth for extending the limits of Quebec, abolishing the English and restoring the French laws, whereby great numbers of British freemen are subjected to the latter, and establishing an absolute government and the Roman Catholic religion, throughout those vast regions that border on the westerly and northerly boundaries of the free, Protestant, English settlements; and a fifth for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his majesty's service in North-America.

To a sovereign who glories in the name of Briton; the
bare

bare recital of these acts must, we presume, justify the loyal subjects, who fly to the foot of the throne, and implore his clemency for protection against them.

From this destructive system of colony-administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war, have flowed those distresses, dangers, fears and jealousies, that overwhelm your majesty's dutiful colonists with affliction : and we defy our most subtle and inveterate enemies to trace the unhappy differences between Great-Britain and these colonies, from an earlier period, or from other causes than we have assigned. Had they proceeded on our part from a restless levity of temper, unjust impulses of ambition, or artful suggestions of seditious persons, we should merit the opprobrious terms frequently bestowed upon us by those we revere. But so far from promoting innovations, we have only opposed them ; and can be charged with no offence, unless it be one to receive injuries, and be sensible of them.

Had our Creator been pleased to give us existence in a land of slavery, the sense of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit. But thanks be to his adorable goodness, we are born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our right under the auspices of your royal ancestors, whose family was seated on the British throne, to rescue and secure a pious and gallant nation from the popery and despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant. Your majesty, we are confident, justly rejoices, that your title to the crown is thus founded on the title of your people to liberty ; and therefore we doubt not but your royal wisdom must approve the sensibility, that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessing they received from Divine Providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that compact, which elevated the illustrious house of Brunswick to the imperial dignity it now possesses.

The apprehension of being degraded into a state of servitude, from the pre-eminent rank of English freemen, while our minds retain the strongest love of liberty, and clearly foresee the miseries preparing for us and our posterity,

terity, excites emotions in our breasts, which though we cannot describe, we should not wish to conceal.. Feeling as men, and thinking as subjects, in the manner we do, silence would be disloyalty. By giving this faithful information, we do all in our power to promote the great objects of your royal cares, the tranquillity of your government, and the welfare of your people.

Duty to your majesty, and regard for the preservation of ourselves and our posterity, the primary obligations of nature and society, command us to entreat your royal attention ; and as your majesty enjoys the signal distinction of reigning over freemen, we apprehend the language of freemen cannot be displeasing.. Your royal indignation, we hope, will rather fall on those designing and dangerous men, who daringly interposing themselves between your royal person and your faithful subjects, and for several years past incessantly employed to dissolve the bonds of society, by abusing your majesty's authority, misrepresenting your American subjects, and prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of oppression, have at length compelled us, by the force of accumulated injuries, too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your majesty's repose by our complaints.

These sentiments are extorted from hearts, that much more willingly would bleed in your majesty's service. Yet so greatly have we been misrepresented, that a necessity has been alledged of taking our property from us without our consent, "to defray the expences of the administration, the support of civil government, and the defence, protection and security, of the colonies." But we beg leave to assure your majesty, that such provision has been, and will be made for defraying the two first articles, as has been and shall be judged, by the legislatures of the several colonies, just and suitable to their respective circumstances : and for the defence, protection and security, of the colonies, their militia, if properly regulated, as they earnestly desire may immediately be done, would be fully sufficient, at least in times of peace; and in case of war, your faithful colonists will be ready

and willing, as they have ever been, when constitutionally required, to demonstrate their loyalty to your majesty, by exerting their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces. Yielding to no British subjects in affectionate attachment to your majesty's person, family and government; we too dearly prize the privilege of expressing that attachment by those proofs, that are honorable to the prince who receives them, and to the people who give them, ever to resign it to any body of men upon earth.

Had we been permitted to enjoy, in quiet, the inheritance left us by our forefathers, we should, at this time, have been peaceably, cheerfully, and usefully employed in recommending ourselves, by every testimony of devotion, to your majesty, and of veneration to the state, from which we derive our origin. But though now exposed to unexpected and unnatural scenes of distress by a contention with that nation, in whose parental guidance on all important affairs we have hitherto, with filial reverence, constantly trusted; and therefore can derive no instruction in our present unhappy and perplexing circumstances from any former experience; yet, we doubt not, the purity of our intention, and the integrity of our conduct, will justify us at that grand tribunal, before which all mankind must submit to judgment.

We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour. Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great-Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavor to support and maintain.

Filled with sentiments of duty to your majesty, and of affection to our parent state, deeply impressed by our education, and strongly confirmed by our reason, and anxious to evince the sincerity of these dispositions, we present this petition only to obtain redress of grievances, and relief from fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system of statutes and regulations adopted since the close of the late war, for raising a revenue in America—extending

tending the powers of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty—trying persons in Great-Britain for offences alledged to be committed in America—affecting the province of Massachusetts-Bay—and altering the government, and extending the limits of Quebec ; by the abolition of which system, the harmony between Great-Britain and these colonies, so necessary to the happiness of both, and so ardently desired by the latter, and the usual intercourses, will be immediately restored. In the magnanimity and justice of your majesty and parliament we confide for a redress of our other grievances, trusting, that when the causes of our apprehensions are removed, our future conduct will prove us not unworthy of the regard we have been accustomed, in our happier days, to enjoy. For, appealing to that Being who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, we solemnly profess, that our councils have been influenced by no other motive, than a dread of impending danger.

Permit us then, most gracious sovereign, in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility, to implore you, for the honor of Almighty God, whose pure religion our enemies are undermining ; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy, and keeping them united ; for the interests of your family, depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it ; for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses—that your majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendant relation formed by these ties to be farther violated, in uncertain expectation of effects, that, if attained, never can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained.

We, therefore, most earnestly beseech your majesty, that your royal authority and interposition may be used for our relief ; and that a gracious answer may be given to this petition.

That

That your majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long and glorious reign over loyal and happy subjects, and that your descendants may inherit your prosperity and dominions till time shall be no more, is, and always will be, our sincere and fervent prayer.

**A DECLARATION by the REPRESENTATIVES
of the United Colonies of North-America, setting forth
the Causes and Necessity of their taking up Arms, July 6,
1775.**

IF it was possible for men, who exercise their reason to believe, that the Divine author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these Colonies might at least require from the parliament of Great-Britain some evidence, that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature of Great-Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest, where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these Colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms.—Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

Our

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of *Great-Britain*, left their native land, to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expence of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from which they removed, by unceasing labor and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of *America*, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians.—Societies or governments, vested with perfect legislatures, were formed under charters from the crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the Colonies and the kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary, as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed, that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navigation of the realm, arose from this source; and the minister, who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of *Great-Britain* in the late war, publicly declared, that these Colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies.—Towards the conclusion of that war, it pleased our sovereign to make a change in his counsels.—From that fatal moment, the affairs of the *British* empire began to fall into confusion, and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distract by the convulsions, that now shake it to its deepest foundations.—The new ministry finding the brave foes of *Britain*, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

These devoted Colonies were judged to be in such a state, as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statuteable plunder.—The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behavior from the beginning of colonization, their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honorable manner by his majesty, by the late king, and by parliament, could not

not save them from the meditated innovations.—parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and assuming a new power over them, have in the course of eleven years given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property; statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty and vice admiralty beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of the Colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the “murderers” of Colonists from legal trial, and in effect, from punishment; for erecting in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of *Great-Britain* and *America*, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the Colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in parliament, that Colonists charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to *England* to be tried.

But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it is declared, that parliament can “of right make laws to bind us *in all cases whatsoever*.” What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it, is chosen by us; or is subject to our control or influence; but on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws, and an *American* revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants; we reasoned,

reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language.

Administration sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the *Americans* was roused, it is true; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A Congress of delegates from the United Colonies was assembled at *Philadelphia*, on the fifth day of last September. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the king, and also addressed our fellow subjects of *Great-Britain*. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth should supplant our attachment to liberty.—This we flattered ourselves, was the ultimate step of the controversy: But subsequent events have shewn, how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

Several threatening expressions against the Colonies were inserted in his majesty's speech; our petition, tho' we were told it was a decent one, and that his majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his parliament, was huddled into both houses among a bundle of *American* papers, and there neglected. The lords and commons in their address, in the month of February, said that "a rebellion at that time actually existed within the provence of *Massachusetts-Bay*; and that those concerned in it, had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his majesty's subjects in several of the other Colonies; and therefore they besought his majesty, that he would take the most effectual measures to inforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature."—Soon after, the commercial intercourse of whole Colonies, with foreign countries, and with each other, was cut off by an act of parliament; by another, several of them were intirely prohibited from the

the fisheries in the seas near their coast, on which they always depended for their subsistence; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to general Gage.

Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers, and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on.—Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns in our favor. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations where Colony should bid against Colony, all of them uninformed what ransom would redeem their lives; and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that would be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us of raising, in our own mode, the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies? In our circumstances to accept them, would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on this continent, general *Gage*, who in the course of the last year had taken possession of the town of *Boston*, in the province of *Massachusetts-Bay*, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the 19th day of *April*, sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province, at the town of *Lexington*, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of *Concord*, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killing several and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country people suddenly assembled

assembled to repel this cruel aggression. Hostilities, thus commenced by the *British* troops, have been since prosecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation.—The inhabitants of *Boston* being confined within that town by the general their governor, and having, in order to procure their dismission, entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated that the said inhabitants having deposited their arms, with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms, but in open violation of honor, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteem sacred, the governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers; detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and the sick from their relations and friends, who wish to attend and comfort them; and these who have been used to live in plenty and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

The general, further emulating his ministerial masters, by a proclamation bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these Colonies, proceeds to “ declare “ them all, either by name or description, to be rebels “ and traitors, to supersede the course of the common “ law, and instead thereof to publish and order the use “ and exercise of the law martial.” His troops have butchered our countrymen, have wantonly burnt Charlestown, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

We have received certain intelligence, that general Carelton, the governor of Canada, is instigating the

people of that province and the Indians to fall upon us; and we have but too much reason to apprehend, that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us. In brief, a part of these Colonies now feel, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of chusing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. —The latter is our choice.—We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. —Honor, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable.—We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the Divine favor towards us, that providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, declare, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers, which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves.

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which

which we sincerely wish to see restored.—Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them.—

We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great-Britain, and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without an imputation or even suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it—for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our fore-fathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his Divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

*The second ADDRESS of the Congress of the United Colonies
of North-America, to the People of Great-Britain, agreed
to in Congress the 8th day of July, 1775.*

Friends, Countrymen, and Brethren,

BY these, and by every other appellation that may designate the ties which bind us to each other, we entreat your serious attention to this our second attempt to prevent their dissolution. Remembrance of former friendships, pride in the glorious achievements of our common ancestors, and affections for the heirs of their virtues, have hitherto preserved our mutual connection; but

but when that friendship is violated by the grossest injuries; when the pride of ancestry becomes our reproach, and we are no otherwise allied than as tyrants and slaves; when reduced to the melancholy alternative of renouncing your favor or our freedom; can we hesitate about the choice? Let the spirit of Britons determine.

In a former address we asserted our rights, and stated the injuries we had then received. We hoped that the mention of our wrongs would have roused that honest indignation which has slept too long for your honor, or the welfare of the empire. But we have not been permitted to entertain this pleasing expectation. Every day brought an accumulation of injuries, and the invention of the ministry has been constantly exercised, in adding to the calamities of your American brethren.

After the most valuable right of legislation was infringed; when the powers assumed by your parliament, in which we are not represented, and from our local and other circumstances cannot properly be represented, rendered our property precarious; after being denied that mode of trial, to which we have long been indebted for the safety of our persons, and the preservation of our liberties; after being in many instances divested of those laws, which were transmitted to us by our common ancestors, and subjected to an arbitrary code, compiled under the auspices of Roman tyrants; after those charters, which encouraged our predecessors to brave death and danger in every shape, on unknown seas, in deserts unexplored, amidst barbarous and inhospitable nations, were annulled; when without the form of trial, without a public accusation, whole colonies were condemned, their trade destroyed, their inhabitants impoverished; when soldiers were encouraged to imbrue their hands in the blood of Americans, by offers of impunity; when new modes of trial were instituted for the ruin of the accused, where the charge carried with it the horrors of conviction; when a despotic government was established in a neighboring province, and its limits extended to every of our frontiers; we little imagined that any thing could

could be added to this black catalogue of unprovoked injuries: but we have unhappily been deceived, and the late measures of the British ministry fully convince us, that their object is the reduction of these colonies to slavery and ruin.

To confirm this assertion, let us recall your attention to the affairs of America, since our last address. Let us combat the calumnies of our enemies; and let us warn you of the dangers that threaten you in our destruction. Many of your fellow-subjects, whose situation deprived them of other support, drew their maintainence from the sea; but the deprivation of our liberty being insufficient to satisfy the resentment of our enemies, the horrors of famine were superadded, and a British parliament, who, in better times, were the protectors of innocence, and the patrons of humanity, have, without distinction of age or sex, robbed thousands of the food which they were accustomed to draw from that inexhaustible source, placed in their neighborhood by the benevolent Creator.

Another act of your legislature shuts our ports, and prohibits our trade with any, but those states from whom the great law of self-preservation renders it absolutely necessary we should at present withhold our commerce. But this act, whatever may have been its design, we consider rather as injurious to your opulence than our interest. All our commerce terminates with you; and the wealth we procure from other nations, is soon exchanged for your superfluities. Our remittances must then cease with our trade; and our refinements with our affluence. We trust, however, that laws which deprive us of every blessing but a soil that teems with the necessaries of life, and that liberty which renders the enjoyment of them secure, will not relax our vigor in their defence.

We might here observe on the cruelty and inconsistency of those, who, while they publicly brand us with reproachful and unworthy epithets, endeavor to deprive us of the means of defence, by their interposition with foreign powers, and to deliver us to the lawless ravages of a merciless soldiery. But happily we are not without re-

sources; and though the timid and humiliating applications of a British ministry should prevail with foreign nations, yet industry, prompted by necessity, will not leave us without the necessary supplies.

We could wish to go no further, and, not to wound the ear of humanity, leave untold those rigorous acts of oppression, which are daily exercised in the town of Boston, did we not hope, that by disclaiming their deeds and punishing the perpetrators, you would shortly vindicate the honor of the British name, and re-established the violated laws of justice.

That once populous, flourishing, and commercial town, is now garrisoned by an army sent, not to protect, but to enslave its inhabitants. The civil government is overturned, and a military despotism erected upon its ruins. Without law, without right, powers are assumed unknown to the constitution. Private property is unjustly invaded. The inhabitants, daily subjected to the licentiousness of the soldiery, are forbid to remove, in defiance of their natural rights, in violation of the most solemn compacts. Or if, after long and wearisome solicitation, a pass is procured, their effects are detained, and even those who are most favored, have no alternative but poverty or slavery. The distress of many thousand people, wantonly deprived of the necessaries of life, is a subject on which we should not wish to enlarge.

Yet we cannot but observe, that a British fleet, unjustifyed even by acts of your legislature, are daily employed in ruining our commerce, seizing our ships, and depriving whole communities of their daily bread. Nor will a regard for your honor permit us to be silent, while British troops fully your glory, by actions, which the most inveterate enemy will not palliate among civilized nations, the wanton and unnecessary destruction of Charleston, a large, ancient, and once populous town, before deserted by its inhabitants, who had fled to avoid the fury of your soldiery.

If you still retain those sentiments of compassion, by which Britons have ever been distinguished; if the humanity,

manity, if the valor of our common ancestors, has not degenerated into cruelty, you will lament the miseries of their descendants.

To what are we to attribute this treatment ? If to any secret principle of the constitution, let it be mentioned ; let us learn, that the government we have long revered, is not without its defects, and that while it gives freedom to a part, it necessarily enslaves the remainder of the empire. If such a principle exists, why for ages has it ceased to operate ? Why, at this time, is it called into action ? Can no reason be assigned for this conduct ? Or must it be resolved into the wanton exercise of arbitrary power ? And shall the descendants of Britons tamely submit to this ? No, sirs ! we never will. While we revere the memory of our gallant and virtuous ancestors, we never can surrender those glorious privileges, for which they fought, bled, and conquered. Admit that your fleets could destroy our towns, and ravage our sea-coasts ; these are inconsiderable objects ; things of no moment to men, whose bosoms glow with the ardor of liberty. We can retire beyond the reach of your navy, and without any sensible diminution of the necessaries of life, enjoy a luxury, which from that period you will want ; the luxury of being free.

We know the force of your arms, and was it called forth in the cause of justice and your country, we might dread the exertion ; but will Britons fight under the banners of tyranny ? Will they counteract the labors, and disgrace the victories of their ancestors ? Will they forge chains for their posterity ? If they descend to this unworthy task, will their swords retain their edge, their arms their accustomed vigor ! Britons can never become the instruments of oppression, till they loose the spirit of freedom, by which, alone, they are invincible.

Our enemies charge us with sedition. In what does it consist ! In our refusal to submit to unwarrantable acts of injustice and cruelty ? If so, shew us a period in your history, in which you have not been equally seditious.

We are accused of aiming at independence ; but how is

is this accusation supported ? By the allegations of your ministers, not by our actions. Abused, insulted, and contemned, what steps have we pursued to obtain redress ? We have carried our dutiful petitions to the throne. We have applied to your justice for relief. We have retrenched our luxury, and withheld our trade.

The advantages of our commerce were designed as a compensation for your protection : when you ceased to protect, for what are we to compensate ?

What has been the success of our endeavors ? The clemency of our sovereign is unhappily diverted ; our petitions are treated with indignity ; our prayers answered by insults. Our application to you remains unnoticed, and leaves us the melancholy apprehension of your wanting either the will, or the power, to assist us.

Even under these circumstances, what measures have we taken that betray a desire of independence ? Have we called in the aid of those foreign powers, who are the rivals of your grandeur ? When your troops were few and defenceless, did we take advantage of their distress, and expel them our towns ? Or have we permitted them to fortify, to receive new aid, and to acquire additional strength ?

Let not your enemies and ours persuade you, that in this we were influenced by fear or any other unworthy motive. The lives of Britons are still dear to us. They are the children of our parents, and an uninterrupted intercourse of mutual benefits had knit the bonds of friendship. When hostilities were commenced, when on a late occasion we were wantonly attacked by your troops, though we repelled their assaults and returned their blows, yet we lamented the wounds they obliged us to give ; nor have we yet learned to rejoice at a victory over Englishmen.

As we wish not to colour our actions, or disguise our thoughts, we shall, in the simple language of truth, avow the measures we have pursued, the motives upon which we have acted, and our future designs.

When our late petition to the throne produced no other

their effect than fresh injuries, and votes of your legislature calculated to justify every severity; when your fleets and your armies were prepared to wrest from us our property, to rob us of our liberties or our lives; when the hostile attempts of general Gage evinced his designs, we le-
vied armies for our security and defence. When the powers vested in the governor of Canada, gave us reason to apprehend danger from that quarter, and we had frequent intimations, that a cruel and savage enemy was to be let loose upon the defenceless inhabitants of our frontiers, we took such measures as prudence dictated, as necessity will justify. We possessed ourselves of Crown-Point and Ticonderoga. Yet, give us leave most solemnly to assure you, that we have not yet lost sight of the object we have ever had in view, a reconciliation with you on constitutional principles, and a restoration of that friendly intercourse, which, to the advantage of both, we, till lately, maintained.

The inhabitants of this country apply themselves chiefly to agriculture and commerce. As their fashions and manners are similar to yours, your markets must afford them the conveniences and luxuries, for which they ex-
change the produce of their labors. The wealth of this extended continent centers with you; and our trade is so regulated as to be subservient only to your interest. You are too reasonable to expect, that by taxes, in addition to this, we should contribute to your expence; to be-
lieve, after diverting the fountain, that the streams can flow with unabated force.

It has been said, that we refuse to submit to the re-
strictions on our commerce. From whence is this infer-
ence drawn? Not from our words, we having repeated-
ly declared to the contrary; and we again profess our submission to the several acts of trade and navigation passed before the year 1763, trusting, nevertheless, in the equity and justice of parliament, that such of them as, upon cool and impartial consideration shall appear to have imposed unnecessary or grievous restrictions, will, at some happier period, be repealed or altered. And we cheer-
fully

fully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament as shall be restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother-country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent.

It is alledged, that we contribute nothing to the common defence. To this we answer, that the advantages which Great-Britain receives from the monopoly of our trade, far exceed our proportion of the expence necessary for that purpose. But should these advantages be inadequate thereto, let the restrictions on our trade be removed, and we will cheerfully contribute our proportion when constitutionally required.

It is a fundamental principle of the British constitution, that every man should have at least a representative share in the formation of those laws by which he is bound. Were it otherwise, the regulation of our internal police by a British parliament, who are and ever will be unacquainted with our local circumstances, must be always inconvenient, and frequently oppressive, working our wrong, without yielding any possible advantage to you.

A plan of accommodation, as it has been absurdly called, has been proposed by your ministers to our respective assemblies. Were this proposal free from every other objection, but that which arises from the time of the offer, it would not be unexceptionable. Can men deliberate with the bayonet at their breasts? Can they treat with freedom, while their towns are sacked; when daily instances of injustice and oppression disturb the flower operations of reason?

If this proposal is really such as you would offer and we accept, why was it delayed till the nation was put to useless expence, and we were reduced to our present melancholy situation? If it holds forth nothing, why was it proposed? Unless, indeed, to deceive you into a belief, that we were unwilling to listen to any terms of accommodation?

tion? But what is submitted to our consideration? We contend for the disposal of our property. We are told that our demand is unreasonable, that our assemblies may indeed collect our money, but that they must, at the same time, offer, not what your exigencies or ours may require, but so much as shall be deemed sufficient to satisfy the desires of a minister, and enable him to provide for favorites and dependants. A recurrence to your own treasury will convince you how little of the money already extorted from us, has been applied to the relief of your burdens. To suppose that we would thus grasp the shadow, and give up the substance, is adding insult to injuries.

We have nevertheless, again presented an humble and dutiful petition to our sovereign; and to remove every imputation of obstinacy, have requested his majesty to direct some mode, by which the united applications of his faithful colonists may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation. We are willing to treat on such terms as can alone render an accommodation lasting, and we flatter ourselves that our pacific endeavors will be attended with a removal of ministerial troops, and a repeal of those laws, of the operation of which we complain, on the one part; and a disbanding of our army, and a dissolution of our commercial associations, on the other.

Yet conclude not from this that we purpose to surrender our property into the hands of your ministry, or vest your parliament with a power which may terminate in our destruction. The great bulwarks of our constitution we have desired to maintain by every temperate, by every peaceable means; but your ministers (equal foes to British and American freedom) have added to their former oppressions an attempt to reduce us by the sword to a base and abject submission. On the sword, therefore, we are obliged to rely for protection. Should victory declare in your favor, yet men trained to arms from their infancy, and animated by the love of liberty, will afford neither a cheap nor easy conquest. Of this at least we are assured, that our struggle will be glorious, our success certain;

certain ; since even in death we shall find that freedom which in life you forbid us to enjoy.

Let us now ask what advantages are to attend our reduction ? The trade of a ruined and desolate country is always inconsiderable, its revenue trifling ; the expence of subjecting and retaining it in subjection certain and inevitable. What then remains but the gratification of an ill-judged pride, or the hope of rendering us subservient to designs on your liberty.

Soldiers who have sheathed their swords in the bowels of their American brethren, will not draw them with more reluctance against you. When too late you may lament the loss of that freedom, which we exhort you, while still in your power, to preserve.

On the other hand, should you prove unsuccessful ; should that connection, which we most ardently wish to maintain, be dissolved ; should your ministers exhaust your treasures and waste the blood of your countrymen in vain attempts on our liberty ; do they not deliver you, weak and defenceless, to your natural enemies.

Since then your liberty must be the price of your victories ; your ruin, of your defeat :—What blind fatality can urge you to a pursuit destructive of all that Britons hold dear ?

If you have no regard to the connection that has for ages subsisted between us ; if you have forgot the wounds we have received fighting by your side for the extension of the empire ; if our commerce is not an object below your consideration ; if justice and humanity have lost their influence on your hearts ; still motives are not wanting to excite your indignation at the measures now pursued : Your wealth, your honor, your liberty are at stake.

Notwithstanding the distress to which we are reduced, we sometimes forget our own afflictions, to anticipate and sympathize in yours. We grieve that rash and inconsiderate councils should precipitate the destruction of an empire, which has been the envy and admiration of ages, and call God to witness ! that we should part with our property, endanger our lives, and sacrifice every thing but liberty, to redeem you from ruin. A

A cloud hangs over your heads and ours ; e'er this reaches you, it may probably burst upon us ; let us then (before the remembrance of former kindness is obliterated) once more repeat those appellations which are ever grateful in our ears ; let us entreat heaven to avert our ruin, and the destruction that threatens our friends, brethren, and countrymen, on the other side of the Atlantic.

A SPEECH to the Six Confederate Nations, MOHAWKS, ONEIDAS, TUSCARORAS, ONONDAGAS, CAYUGAS, SENEKAS, from the Twelve United Colonies, convened in Council at Philadelphia, July 13, 1775.

Brothers, Sachems, and Warriors,

WE, the Delegates from the 'Twelve United Provinces, now sitting in general Congress at Philadelphia, send this talk to our brothers. We are fifty-five in number, chosen and appointed by the people throughout all these Provinces and Colonies, to meet and sit together in one great Council, to consult together for the common good of the land, and speak and act for them.

Brothers, in our consultation we have judged it proper and necessary to send you this talk, as we are upon the same island, that you may be informed of the reasons of this great council, the situation of our civil constitution, and our disposition towards you our Indian brothers of the six nations and their allies.

(Three Strings, or a small Belt.)

Brothers and Friends, now attend,

When our fathers crossed the great water and came over to this land, the king of England gave them a talk ; assuring them that they and their children should be his children, and that if they would leave their native country and make settlements, and live here, and buy, and sell, and trade with their brethren beyond the water, they should still keep hold of the same covenant chain and enjoy peace—and it was covenanted, that the fields, houses,

goods, and possessions which our fathers should acquire, should remain to them as their own, and be their children's forever, and at their sole disposal.

Trusting that this covenant should never be broken, our fathers came a great distance beyond the great water, laid out their money here, built houses, cleared fields, raised crops, and through their own labour and industry grew tall and strong.

They have bought, sold, and traded with England according to agreement, sending to them such things as they wanted, and taking in exchange such things as were wanted here.

The king of England and his people kept the way open for more than one hundred years, and by our trade became richer, and by a union with us, greater and stronger than the other kings and people who live beyond the water.

All this time they lived in great friendship with us, and we with them; for we are brothers—one blood.

Whenever they were struck, we instantly felt as though the blow had been given to us—their enemies were our enemies.

Whenever they went to war, we sent our men to stand by their side and fight for them, and our money to help them and make them strong.

They thanked us for our love and sent us good talks, and renewed their promise to be one people forever.

Brothers and Friends, open a kind Ear!

We will now tell you of the quarrel betwixt the counsellors of king George and the inhabitants and Colonies of America.

Many of his counsellors are proud and wicked men.—They persuade the king to break the covenant chain, and not to send us any more good talks. A considerable number have prevailed upon him to enter into a new covenant against us, and have torn asunder and cast behind their backs the good old covenant which their ancestors and ours entered into and took strong hold of.

They now tell us they will slip their hand into our pocket

pocket without asking, as though it were their own; and at their pleasure they will take from us our charters or written civil constitution, which we love as our lives—also our plantations, our houses and goods whenever they please, without asking our leave.—That our vessels may go to this island in the sea, but to this or that particular island we shall not trade any more.—And in case of our non-compliance with these new orders, they shut up our harbors.

Brothers, this is our present situation—thus have many of the king's counsellors and servants dealt with us.—If we submit, or comply with their demands, you can easily perceive to what state we shall be reduced.—If our people labor on the field, they will not know who shall enjoy the crop.—If they hunt in the woods, it will be uncertain who shall taste of the meat or have the skins.—If they build houses they will not know whether they may sit round the fire, with their wives and children—They cannot be sure whether they shall be permitted to eat, drink, and wear the fruits of their own labor and industry.

Brothers and Friends of the Six Nations, attend,

We upon this island have often spoken and intreated the king and his servants the counsellors, that peace and harmony might still continue between us—that we cannot part with or loose our hold of the old covenant chain which united our fathers and theirs—that we want to brighten this chain—and keep the way open as our fathers did; that we want to live with them as brothers, labor, trade, travel abroad, eat and drink in peace. We have often asked them to love us and live in such friendship with us as their fathers did with ours.

We told them again that we judged we were exceedingly injured, that they might as well kill us, as take away our property and the necessaries of life.—We have asked why they treat us thus?—What has become of our repeated addresses and supplications to them? Who hath shut the ears of the king to the cries of his children in

America?

America? No soft answer—no pleasant voice from beyond the water has yet sounded in our ears.

Brothers, thus stands the matter betwixt Old England and America. You Indians know how things are proportioned in a family—between the father and the son—the child carries a little pack—England we regard as the father—this island may be compared to the son.

The father has a numerous family—both at home and upon this island.—He appoints a great number of servants to assist him in the government of his family. In process of time, some of his servants grow proud and ill natured—they are displeased to see the boy so alert and walk on so nimbly with his pack.—They tell the father and advise him to enlarge the child's pack—they prevail—the pack is increased—the child takes it up again—as he thought it might be the father's pleasure—speaks but few words—those very small—for he was loth to offend the father. Those proud and wicked servants finding they had prevailed, laughed to see the boy sweat and stagger under his increased load. By and by, they apply to the father to double the boy's pack, because they heard him complain—and without any reason, said they—he is a cross child—correct him if he complains any more.—The boy intreats the father—addresses the great servants in a decent manner, that the pack might be lightened—he could not go any farther—humbly asks, if the old fathers, in any of their records, had described such a pack for the child—after all the tears and intreaties of the child, the pack is redoubled—the child stands a little, while staggering under the weight—ready to fall every moment.—However, he intreats the father once more, though so faint he could only lisp out his last humble supplication—waits a while—no voice returns.—The child concludes the father could not hear—those proud servants had intercepted his supplications, or stopped the ears of the father.—He therefore gives one struggle and throws off the pack, and says he cannot take it up again—such a weight would crush him down and kill him—and he can but die if he refuses.

Upon

Upon this, those servants are very wroth—and tell the father many false stories respecting the child—they bring a great cudgel to the father, asking him to take it in his hand and strike the child.

This may serve to illustrate the present condition of the king's American subjects or children.

Amidst these oppressions we now and then hear a mollifying and reviving voice from some of the king's wise counsellors, who are our friends and feel for our distresses; when they heard our complaints and our cries, they applied to the king, also told those wicked servants, that this child in America was not a cross boy, it had sufficient reason for crying, and if the cause of its complaint was neglected, it would soon assume the voice of a man, plead for justice like a man, and defend its rights, and support the old covenant chain of the fathers.

Brothers, listen!

Notwithstanding all our intreaties we have but little hope the king will send us any more good talks, by reason of his evil counsellors; they have persuaded him to send an army of soldiers and many ships of war, to rob and destroy us. They have shut up many of our harbors, seized and taken into possession many of our vessels: the soldiers have struck the blow, killed some of our people, the blood now runs of the American children: they have also burned our houses and towns, and taken much of our goods.

Brothers! we are now necessitated to rise, and forced to fight, or give up our civil constitution, run away and leave our farms and houses behind us. This must not be. Since the king's wicked counsellors will not open their ears, and consider our just complaints, and the cause of our weeping, and hath given the blow, we are determined to drive away the king's soldiers, and to kill and destroy all those wicked men we find in arms against the peace of the twelve united Colonies upon this island. We think our cause is just; therefore hope God will be on our side. We do not take up the hatchet and struggle for honor and conquest; but to maintain our civil con-

sitution and religious privileges, the very same for which our forefathers left their native land and came to this country.

Brothers and Friends!

We desire you will hear and receive what we have now told you, and that you will open a good ear and listen to what we are now going to say. This is a family quarrel between us and old England. You Indians are not concerned in it. We don't wish you to take up the hatchet against the king's troops. We desire you to remain at home, and not join on either side, but keep the hatchet buried deep. In the name and behalf of all our people we ask and desire you to love peace and maintain it, and to love and sympathize with us in our troubles; that the path may be kept open with all our people and yours, to pass and repass, without molestation.

Brothers! we live upon the same ground with you. The same island is our common birth-place. We desire to sit down under the same tree of peace with you: let us water its roots and cherish its growth, till the large leaves and flourishing branches shall extend to the setting sun, and reach the skies.

Brothers, observe well!

What is it we have asked of you?—Nothing but peace, notwithstanding our present disturbed situation—and if application should be made to you by any of the king's unwise and wicked ministers to join on their side—We only advise you to deliberate with great caution, and in your wisdom look forward to the consequences of a compliance. For if the king's troops take away our property, and destroy us who are of the same blood with themselves—what can you, who are Indians, expect from them afterwards?

Therefore we say, brothers, take care—hold fast to your covenant chain.—You now know our disposition towards you, the Six Nations of Indians, and your allies.—Let this our good talk remain at Onondaga, your central council house. We depend upon you to send and acquaint your allies to the northward, the seven tribes on the

the river St. Lawrence, that you have this talk of ours at the great council fire of the Six Nations. And when they return, we invite your great men to come and converse farther with us at Albany, where we intend to rekindle the council fire, which your and our ancestors sat round in great friendship.

Brothers and Friends!

We greet you all,

Farewell.

(*The large Belt of Intelligence and Declaration.*)

Brothers!

We have said we wish you Indians may continue in peace with one another, and with us the white people. Let us both be cautious in our behavior towards each other in this critical state of affairs. This island now trembles, the wind whistles from almost every quarter—let us fortify our minds and shut our ears against false rumors—let us be cautious what we receive for truth, unless spoken by wise and good men. If any thing disagreeable should ever fall out between us the twelve united Colonies, and you the Six Nations to wound our peace, let us immediately seek measures for healing the breach. From the present situation of our affairs, we judge it wise and expedient to kindle up a small council-fire at Albany, where we may hear each others voice, and disclose our minds more fully to each other.

(*A small Belt.*)

A DECLARATION by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, in Congress assembled, July 4, 1776.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires, that they should declare the causes which impel them to a separation.

We

We hold these truths to be self-evident ; that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.— That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.— Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the present sufferance of these colonies ; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great-Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having indirect object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome, and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature ;

a right

a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected ; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise ; the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation :

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :
For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment

ment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states :

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world :

For imposing taxes on us without our consent :

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury.

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences :

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies :

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments :

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction, of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for

for redress in the most humble terms : our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow those usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS assembled, appealing to the supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES ; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great-Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved ; and that as FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

*SPEECH of his Excellency WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
Esq. Governor, Captain-General, and Commander in
Chief, of the State of New-Jersey, and the territories
thereunto belonging, Chancellor and Ordinary in the same.*

*To the Honorable the Council, and General Assembly of the
said State.*

Gentlemen,

HAVING already laid before the assembly, by messages, the several matters that have occurred to me, as more particularly demanding their attention during the present session, it may seem less necessary to address you, in the more ceremonious form of a speech. But conceiving it my duty to the state, to deliver my sentiments on the present situation of affairs, and the eventful contest between Great-Britain and America, which could not, with any propriety, be conveyed in occasional messages, you will excuse my giving you the trouble of attending for that purpose.

After deplored with you the desolation spread through part of this State, by an unrelenting enemy, who have indeed marked their progress with a devastation unknown to civilized nations; and evincive of the most implacable vengeance, I heartily congratulate you, on that subsequent series of success, wherewith it has pleased the Almighty to crown the American arms; and particularly on the important enterprize against the enemy at Trenton; and the signal victory obtained over them at Princeton, by the gallant troops under the command of his excellency general Washington.

Considering the contemptible figure they make at present, and the disgust they have given to their own confederates amongst us, by their more than Gothic ravages; (for thus doth the Great Disposer of events often deduce good out of evil) their irruption into our dominion will redound to the public benefit. It has certainly enabled us the more effectually to distinguish our friends from our enemies. It has winnowed the chaff from the grain.

It

It has discriminated the temporizing politician, who, on the first appearance of danger, was determined to secure his idol—property, at the hazard of the general weal; from the persevering patriot, who having embarked all in the common cause, chooses rather to risque, rather to loose that all, for the preservation of the more estimable treasure LIBERTY, than to possess it (enjoy it he could not) upon ignominious terms of tamely resigning his country and posterity to infamy and slavery. It has, however opened the eyes of those, who were made to believe that their impious merit, in abetting our prosecutors, would exempt them from being involved in the common calamity. But as the rapacity of the enemy was boundless, their rapine was indiscriminate, and their barbarity unparalleled. They have plundered friends and foes. Effects capable of division, they have divided; such as were not, they have destroyed. They have warred upon decrepid age; warred upon defenceless youth. They have committed hostilities against the professors of literature, and the ministers of religion; against public records, and private monuments; against books of improvement, and papers of curiosity; and against the *arts and sciences*. They have butchered the wounded asking for quarters; mangled the dying writhing in their blood; refused the dead the rites of sepulture; suffered prisoners to perish for want of sustenance; violated the chastity of women; disfigured private dwellings of taste and elegance; and, in the rage of impiety and barbarism, profaned edifices dedicated to Almighty God!

Yet there are amongst us, who either from ambitious or lucrative motives, or intimidated by the terror of their arms; or from a partial fondness for the British constitution; or deluded by insidious propositions, are secretly abetting, or openly aiding, their machinations, to deprive us of that liberty,—without which, man is a beast, and government a curse.

Besides the inexpressible baseness of wishing to rise on the ruin of our country; or to acquire riches at the expense of the liberties and fortunes of our fellow-citizens,

how soon wou'd those delusive dreams, upon the conquest of America, be turned into disappointment. Where is the fund to recompence those retainers to the British army; those intentional pensioners of a bankrupt nation? Was every state in America to be confiscated, and converted into cash, the product would not satiate the avidity of their own creatures, nor furnish an adequate repast for the keen appetites of their own *ministerial beneficiaries*. Instead of gratuities and promotion, these unhappy accomplices in their tyranny, would meet with supercilious looks and cold disdain; and after tedious attendance be finally told, by their haughty masters, that they indeed approved of the *treason*, but despised the *traitor*. Insulted in fine, by their pretended protectors, but real betrayers; and goaded with the stings of their own consciences, they would remain the frightful monuments of human contempt, and Divine indignation; and linger out the rest of their days in self condemnation and remorse; and in weeping over the ruins of their country, which themselves had been instrumental in reducing to desolation and bondage. Others there are, who, terrified at the power of Britain, have been persuaded that she is not only formidable, but irresistible. That her power is great, is beyond question; that it is not to be despised, is the dictate of common prudence. But then we ought also to consider her as weak in council, and groaning with debt; reduced in her trade, reduced in her revenues, immersed in pleasure, enervated with luxury, and in dissipation and venality surpassing all Europe. We ought to consider her as hated by a potent rival, her natural enemy, and particularly exasperated at her imperious conduct in the last war, as well as her provoking manner of commencing it; and then inflamed with resentment, and only watching a favorable juncture for open hostilities. We ought to consider the amazing expence and difficulty of exporting troops and provisions above three thousand miles, with the impossibility of recruiting their army at a less distance; save only, with such recreants, whose conscious guilt must on the first approach

approach of danger appal the stoutest heart. These insuperable obstacles are known and acknowledged by every virtuous and impartial man in the nation. Even the author of this horrid war is incapable of concealing his own confusion and distress. Too great to be wholly suppressed, it frequently discovers itself in the course of his speech. A speech terrible in word, and fraught with contradiction; breathing threatenings and betraying terror; a motley mixture of magnanimity and consternation; of grandeur and abasement: with troops invincible he dreads a defeat, and wants reinforcements: victorious in America, and triumphant on the ocean, he is an humble dependent on a *petty Prince*: and with full confidence in the friendship and alliance of France, he trembles at her *secret designs*, and *open preparations*.

With all this, we ought to contrast the numerous and hardy sons of America; enured to toil; seasoned alike to heat and cold; hale, robust, patient of fatigue; and from an ardent love of liberty, ready to face danger and death. The immense extent of continent, which our infatuated enemies have undertaken to subjugate. The remarkable unanimity of its inhabitants, notwithstanding the exception of a few apostates and deserters; their unshaken resolution to maintain their freedom, or perish in the attempt; the fertility of our soil in all kinds of provision necessary for the support of war; our inexhaustible internal resources for military stores, and naval armaments; our comparative economy in public expences, and the millions we save by reprobating the farther exchange of our valuable staples for the worthless baubles and finery of English manufacture; add to this, that in a cause so just and righteous on our part, we have the highest reason to expect the blessing of heaven upon our glorious conflict. For who can doubt the interposition of the SUPREMELY JUST, in favor of a people forced to arms, in defence of every thing dear and precious, against a nation deaf to our complaints, rejoicing in our misery, wantonly aggravating our oppressions, determined to divide our substance, and by fire and sword to compel us into submission.

Respect.

Respecting the constitution of Great-Britain, bating certain prerogatives of dangerous tendency, it has indeed been applauded by the best judges, and displays in its original structure, illustrious proofs of wisdom and the knowledge of mankind. But what avails the *best* constitution, with the *worst* administration? For what is their present government, and what has it been for years past, but a *pensioned confederacy* against reason, and virtue, and honor, and patriotism, and the rights of man! What their governors, but a set of political craftsmen, flagitiously conspiring to erect the babel of *Despotism*, on the ruins of the ancient and beautiful fabric of *Law*? A shameless cabal, notoriously employed in deceiving the prince, corrupting the parliament, debasing the people, depressing the most virtuous, and exalting the most profligate! In short, an insatiable junto of public spoilers, lavishing the national wealth, and by peculation and plunder, daily accumulating a debt already enormous! And what is the majority of their parliament, formerly the most august assembly in the world, but venal pensioners on the crown, a perfect mockery on all representation, and at the absolute devotion of every minister! What were the characteristics of their administration of the provinces? The substitution of instructions in the room of the law; the multiplication of offices to strengthen the court interest; perpetually extending the prerogatives of the king, and retrenching the rights of the subject; advancing to the most eminent stations, men without education, and of dissolute manners; employing, with the peoples money, a band of emissaries to misrepresent and traduce the people; sporting with our persons and estates, by filling the highest seats of justice with bankrupts, bullies, and blockheads.

From such a nation (though all this we bore, and should probably have borne for a century, had they not avowedly claimed the unconditional disposal of life and property) it is evidently our interest to be detached. To remain happy or safe in our connection with her, became henceforth utterly impossible. She is moreover precipitat-

ing her own fall, or the age of miracles is returned; and Britain, a phænomenon in the political world, without a parallel!

The proclamations to ensnare the timid and credulous, are beyond expression disingenuous and tantalizing. In a gilded pill they conceal real poison. They add insult to injury. After repeated intimations of commissioners to treat with America, we are presented, instead of the peaceful olive-branch, with the devouring sword; instead of being visited with plenipotentiaries, to bring matters to an accommodation, we are invaded with an army, in their opinion, able to subdue us; and upon discovering their error, the terms propounded amount to this: "If you will submit without resistance, we are content to take your property, and spare your lives; and then (the consummation of arrogance!) we will graciously pardon you for having hitherto defended both."

Consider then their bewildered councils, their blundering ministers, their want of men and money, their impaired credit, and declining commerce, their lost revenues, and starved islands, the corruption of their parliament, with the effeminacy of the nation, and the success of their enterprize is against all probability. Considering farther, the horrid enormity of waging war against their own brethren, expostulating for an audience, complaining of injuries, and supplicating for redress, and waging it with a ferocity and vengeance unknown to modern ages, and contrary to all laws, human and divine; and we can neither question the justice of our opposition, nor the assistance of heaven to crown it with victory.

Let us, however, not presumptuously rely on the interposition of providence, without exerting those efforts which it is our duty to exert, and which our bountiful Creator has enabled us to exert. Let us do our part to open the next campaign with redoubled vigor; and until the *United States* have humbled the pride of *Britain*, and obtained an honorable peace, cheerfully furnish our proportion for continuing the war—A war on our side founded on the immutable obligation of self defence, and in

support of freedom, of virtue, and every thing tending to ennable our nature, and render our people happy. On their part, prompted by boundless avarice, and a thirst for absolute sway, and built on a claim repugnant to every principle of reason and equity—*A claim subversive of all liberty, natural, civil, moral, and religious; incompatible with human happiness, and usurping the attributes of DEITY, degrading man, and blaspheming God.*

Let us all, therefore, of every rank and degree, remember our plighted faith and honor to maintain the cause with our lives and fortunes. Let us inflexibly persevere in prosecuting to a happy period, what has been so gloriously begun, and hitherto so prosperously conducted.—And let those in more distinguished stations use all their influence and authority, to rouse the supine; to animate the irresolute; to confirm the wavering; and to draw from his lurking hole, the skulking neutral, who leaving to others the heat and burden of the day, means in the final result to reap the fruits of that victory, for which he will not contend. Let us be peculiarly assiduous in bringing to condign punishment, those detestable parricides who have been openly active against their native country. And may we, in all our deliberations and proceedings, be influenced and directed by the great Arbitrator of the fate of nations, by whom empires rise and fall, and who will not always suffer *the sceptre of the wicked to rest on the lot of the righteous*, but in due time avenge an injured people on their unfeeling oppressor, and his bloody instruments.

*An EULOGIUM on the Brave Men who have fallen in the
contest with Great-Britain : delivered on Monday, July
5, 1779. By Mr. Brackenridge.*

— Heroes then arose ;
*Who scorning coward-self, for others liv'd,
Toil'd for their ease, and for their safety bled.*

THOMSON.

IT is the high reward of those who have risked their lives in a just and necessary war, that their names are sweet in the mouths of men, and every age shall know their actions. I am happy in having it in my power, before a polite assembly, to express what I think of those who have risked their lives in the war of America. I know my abilities rise not to a level with so great a subject, but I love the memory of the men, and it is my hope, that the affection which I feel, will be to me instead of genius, and give me warm words to advance their praises.

I conceive it as the first honor of these men, that before they engaged in the war, they saw it to be just and necessary. They were not the vassals of a proud chieftain rousing them, in barbarous times, by the blind impulse of attachment to his family, or engaging them to espouse his quarrel, by the music and entertainments of his hall. They were themselves the chieftans of their own cause, highly instructed in the nature of it, and, from the best principles of patriotism, resolute in its defence. They had heard the declaration of the court and parliament of Great-Britain, claiming the authority of binding them in all cases whatsoever. They had examined this claim, and found it to be, as to its foundation, groundless, as to its nature, tyrannical, and as to its consequences, ruinous to the peace and happiness of both countries. On this clear apprehension and decided judgment of the cause, ascertained by their own reason, and collected from the best writers, it was the noble purpose

of

of their minds to stand forth and assert it, at the expense of fortune, and the hazard of their lives.

These brave men were not soldiers by profession, bred to arms, and from a habit of military life attached to it. They were men in the easy walks of life; mechanics of the city, merchants of the counting-house, youths engaged in literary studies, and husbandmen, peaceful cultivators of the soil. Happy in the sociability and conversation of the town, the simplicity and innocence of the country village, the philosophic ease of academic leisure, and the sweets of rural life, they wished not a change of these scenes of pleasure, for the dangers and calamities of war. It was the pure love of virtue and of freedom, burning bright within their minds, that alone could engage them to embark in the undertaking of so bold and perilous a nature.

These brave men were not unacquainted with the circumstances of their situation, and their unprepared state for war. Not a bayonet was anviled out, not a fire-arm manufactured, and scarcely a charge for a fire-arm was in their possession. No redoubt was cast up to secure the city, no fort was erected to resist invasion, no gun mounted on the deck of the vessel, and no vessel launched upon the stream.

The power of Britain, on the other hand, was well known, and by the lightning of her orators, in a thousand writings and harangues, had been thrown, in full force, upon their minds. They were taught to believe her, (what indeed she was) old in arts and in arms, and enriched with the spoils of a thousand victories derived from the ancient captains and heroes of her isle. Embraced by the ocean as her favorite, her commerce was extensive, and she sent out her ships of war to every sea. Her thunder was heard in the East-Indies and the West, and no fort or battery on the shore had been proof to her assault. Abounding in men, her armies were in full force, her fleets were compleatly manned, her discipline was regular, and the spirit of her enterprize by sea and land, had, in most cases, insured her success.

The

The idea of resistance to the power of Britain was indeed great; but the mighty soul of the patriot drank it in, and, like the eagle in the mountain-top, collected magnanimity from the very prospect of the height to which he meant to soar: Like the steed, who swallows the distant ground with his fierceness, he attempted the career, and poured himself upon the race.

The patriot quits his easy independent walk of life, his shop, his farm, his office, and his counting-house, and with every hope and every anxious thought prepares himself for war. The materials of gun-powder are extracted from the earth; the bayonet is anviled out; the fire-arm is manufactured in the shop; the manual exercise is taught; the company is formed in battalions; the battalion is instructed to manœuvre in the field; the brigade is drawn forth; and the standard of defiance is planted on the soil.

Great have been the labors of the soldier, marching to receive the enemy in every state: Desisting from the march for a short night, he has slept without tent or covering, exposed to summer rains and autumnal dews; or in the solstitial month, he has built his hut, without nail or hammer, and, on the bleak hill, has outwatched the cold stars, sentinels of the winter sky.

These have been the toils of the heroes of our army; but the brave men whom we this day more particularly celebrate, have added more than toils resulting from the calamities of life, even life itself. They have withdrawn from the embraces of their friends; quitted every fond hope of eminence in life, an idea very flattering to the mind of man; they have bid farewell to the sun and moon, and the changes of the varied year; they have rushed into war, and have fallen in the contest.

These of them have fallen in the long and laborious march, worn out with the toils of the protracted and severe campaign: These have fallen by the fever of the camp, amidst the unavailing tears of their companions: These, by the slow approach of wasting hunger, when, for many days, it has been heard in the prison-ship or jail,

jail, "There is no bread." These, by wounds not at once mortal. These have fallen, when, advancing on the enemy, they have received the bayonet in their breast, or high in hope, and anxious of victory, they have instantly dropt, by the cannon or the musket ball.

For what cause did these brave men sacrifice their lives? For that cause which, in all ages, has engaged the hopes, the wishes, and endeavors of the best men, *the cause of Liberty*. LIBERTY! thou art indeed valuable; the source of all that is good and great upon the earth! For thee, the wise and the brave of every age have contended. For thee, the patriot of America has drawn his sword, has fought, and has fallen.

What was in our power we have done, with regard to the bodies of these men: We have paid them military honors; we have placed them in their native earth; and it is with veneration that we yet view their tombs upon the furzy glade, or on the distant hill. Ask me not the names of these. The muse shall tell you of them, and the bards shall woo them to their songs. The verse which shall be so happy as to embrace the name of one of these shall be immortal. The names of these shall be read with the names of Pelopidas, Epaminondas, and the worthies of the world. Posterity shall quote them for parallels, and for examples. When they mean to dress the hero with the fairest praises, they shall say he was gallant and distinguished in his early fall, as Warren; he was virtuous and prudent, and intrepid, as Montgomery; he was young, and faithful, and generous, as Macpherson; he fell in the bold and resolute advance, like Hasset, and like Mercer; he saw the honor which his valor had acquired, and fainted in the arms of victory, like Harkimer; having gallantly repulsed the foe, he fell, covered with wounds, in his old age, like Wooster.—

The SPEECH of his excellency JOHN RUTLEDGE, esquire, governor and commander in chief of the state of South-Carolina, to the General Assembly, met at Jacksonborough, on Friday the eighteenth day of January, 1782.

SINCE the last meeting of a general assembly, the good people of this state have not only felt the common calamities of war, but, from the wanton and savage manner in which it has been prosecuted, they have experienced such severities as are unpractised, and will scarcely be credited by civilized nations.

The enemy, unable to make any impression on the northern states, the number of whose inhabitants, and the strength of whose country baffled their repeated efforts, turned their views towards the southern, which, a difference of circumstances, afforded some expectation of conquering, or at least of greatly distressing. After a long resistance, the reduction of Charleston was effected, by the vast superiority of force with which it had been besieged. The loss of that garrison, as it consisted of the continental troops of Virginia and the Carolinas, and of a number of militia, facilitated the enemy's march into the country, and their establishment of strong posts in the upper and interior parts of it; and the unfavorable issue of the action near Camden induced them vainly to imagine, that no other army could be collected which they might not easily defeat. The militia, commanded by the brigadiers Sumpter and Marion, whose enterprising spirit and unremitting perseverance under many difficulties are deserving of great applause, harrassed and often defeated large parties; but the numbers of those militia were too small to contend effectually with the collected strength of the enemy. Regardless therefore of the sacred ties of honor, destitute of the feelings of humanity, and determined to extinguish, if possible, every spark of freedom in this country, they, with the insolent pride of conquerors, gave unbounded scope to the exercise of their tyrannical dispositions, and violated the most solemn capitulations

capitulations. Many of our worthiest citizens were, without cause, long and closely confined—some on board prison ships, and others in the town and castle of Augustine—their properties disposed at the will and caprice of the enemy, and their families sent to a different and distant part of the continent without the means of support. Many who had surrendered as prisoners were killed in cold blood—several suffered death in the most ignominious manner, and others were delivered up to savages, and put to tortures under which they expired. Thus the lives, liberties and properties of the people, were dependent solely on the pleasure of British officers, who deprived them of either or all, on the most frivolous pretences. Indians, slaves, and a desperate banditti of the most profligate characters, were caressed, and employed by the enemy, to execute their infamous purposes. Devastation and ruin marked their progress and that of their adherents—nor were their violences restrained, by the charms or influence of beauty and innocence—even the fair sex, whom it is the duty of all, and the pleasure and pride of the brave, to protect—they, and their tender offspring, were victims to the inveterate malice of an unrelenting foe. Neither the tears of mothers, nor the cries of infants, could excite in their breasts pity or compassion. Not only the peaceful habitations of the widow, the aged, and the infirm, but the holy temples of the Most High, were consumed in flames, kindled by their sacrilegious hands. They have tarnished the glory of the British arms, disgraced the profession of a British soldier, and fixed indelible stigmas of rapine, cruelty, perfidy, and profaneness, on the British name.

But I can now congratulate you, and I do so most cordially, on the pleasing change of affairs which, under the blessing of God, the wisdom, prudence, address, and bravery of the great and gallant general Greene, and the intrepidity of the officers and men under his command, has been happily effected—a general who is justly entitled, from his many signal services, to honorable and singular marks of your approbation and gratitude. His suc-

cesses

cesses have been more rapid and complete than the most sanguine could have expected. The enemy, compelled to surrender or evacuate every post they held in the country, frequently defeated and driven from place to place, are obliged to seek refuge under the walls of Charleston, and on islands in its vicinity. We have now the full and absolute possession of every other part of the state ; and the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, are in the free exercise of their respective authorities.

I also most heartily congratulate you on the glorious victory obtained by the combined forces of America and France over their common enemy. When the very General who was second in command at the reduction of Charleston, and to whose boasted prowess and highly extolled abilities, the conquest of no less than three states had been arrogantly committed, was speedily compelled to accept the same mortifying terms which had been imposed on that brave but unfortunate garrison ; to surrender an army of many thousand regulars, and to abandon his wretched followers, whom he had artfully seduced from their allegiance by specious promises of protection, which he could never have hoped to fulfil, to the justice and mercy of their country. —

*An ORATION, delivered at the north Church in Hartford,
at the meeting of the Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati,
July 4th, 1787, in commemoration of the Independence
of the United States. By JOEL BARLOW, Esq. Pub-
lished by desire of said society.*

Mr. president, gentlemen of the society, and fellow citizens,

ON the anniversary of so great an event as the birth of the empire in which we live, none will question the propriety of passing a few moments in contemplating the various objects suggested to the mind by the important occasion. But at the present period, while the blessings, claimed by the sword of victory, and promised in the voice of the peace, remain to be confirmed by our fu-

ture exertions—while the nourishment, the growth, and even the existence of our empire, depend upon the united efforts of an extensive and divided people—the duties of this day ascend from amusement and congratulation, to a serious patriotic employment.

We are assembled, my friends, not to boast, but to realize—not to inflate our national vanity by a pompous relation of past achievements in the council or in the field; but, from a modest retrospect of the truly dignified part already acted by our countrymen, from an accurate view of our present situation, and from an anticipation of the scenes that remain to be unfolded—to discern and familiarize the duties that still await us, as citizens, as soldiers, and as men.

Revolutions in other countries have been effected by accident. The faculties of human reason and the rights of human nature have been the sport of chance and the prey of ambition. And when indignation has burst the bands of slavery, to the destruction of one tyrant, it was only to impose the manacles of another. This arose from the imperfection of that early stage of society, which necessarily occasioned the foundation of empires on the eastern continent to be laid in ignorance, and which induced a total inability of foreseeing the improvements of civilization, or of adapting the government to a state of social refinement.

I shall but repeat a common observation, when I remark, that on the western continent the scene was entirely different, and a new task, totally unknown to the legislators of other nations, was imposed upon the fathers of the American empire.

Here was a people thinly scattered over an extensive territory, lords of the soil on which they trod, commanding a prodigious length of coast, and an equal breadth of frontier—a people habituated to liberty, professing a mild and benevolent religion, and highly advanced in science and civilization. To conduct such a people in a revolution, the address must be made to reason as well as to the passions. And to reason, to the clear understanding of

of these variously-affected colonies, the solemn address was made.

A people thus enlightened, and capable of discerning the connection of causes with their remotest effects, waited not the experience of oppression in their own persons; which they well knew would render them less able to conduct a regular opposition. But in the moment of their greatest prosperity, when every heart expanded with the increasing opulence of the British American dominions, and every tongue united in the praises of the parent state and her patriot king, when many circumstances concurred which would have rendered an ignorant people secure and inattentive to their future interests; at this moment the eyes of the American Argus were opened to the first and most plausible invasion of the colonial rights.

In vain were we told, and perhaps with the greatest truth and sincerity, that the monies levied in America were all to be expended within the country, and for our benefit: Equally idle was the policy of Great Britain, in commencing her new system by a small and almost imperceptible duty, and that upon very few articles. It was not the quantity of the tax, it was not the mode of appropriation, but it was the right of the demand, which was called in question. Upon this the people deliberated; this they discussed in a cool and dispassionate manner; and this they opposed, in every shape that an artful and systematic ministry could devise, for more than ten years, before they assumed the sword.

This single circumstance, aside from the magnitude of the object, or the event of the contest, will stamp a peculiar glory on the American revolution, and mark it as a distinguished era in the history of mankind; that sober reason and reflection have done the work of enthusiasm, and performed the miracles of gods. In what other age or nation has a laborious and agricultural people, at ease upon their own farms, secure and distant from the approach of fleets and armies, tide-waiters, and stamp-masters, reasoned before they had felt, and from the dictates of

of duty and conscience, encountered dangers, distress and poverty, for the sake of securing to posterity a government of independence and peace? The toils of ages and the fate of millions were to be sustained by a few hands. The voice of unborn nations called upon them for safety; but it was a still small voice, the voice of rational reflection. Here was no Cromwell to inflame the people with bigotry and zeal, no Cæsar to reward his followers with the spoils of vanquished foes, and no territory to be acquired by conquest. Ambition, superstition and avarice, those universal torches of war, never illuminated an American field of battle. But the permanent principles of sober policy spread through the colonies, roused the people to assert their rights, and conducted the revolution.

Whatever praise is due for the task already performed, it is certain that much remains to be done. The revolution is but half completed. Independence and government were the two objects contended for; and but one is yet obtained. To the glory of the present age, and the admiration of the future, our severance from the British empire was conducted upon principles as noble, as they were new and unprecedented in the history of human actions. Could the same generous principles, the same wisdom and unanimity be effected in exerting the establishment of a permanent federal system, what an additional lustre would it pour upon the present age! a lustre hitherto unequalled; a display of magnanimity for which mankind may never behold another opportunity.

The present is justly considered an alarming crisis; perhaps the most alarming that America ever saw. We have contended with the most powerful nation, and subdued the bravest and best appointed armies: But now we have to contend with ourselves, and encounter passions and prejudices more powerful than armies, and more dangerous to our peace. It is not for glory, it is for existence that we contend.

The first great object is to convince the people of the importance of their present situation: for the majority of

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a great people, on a subject which they understand, will never act wrong. If ever there was a time, in any age or nation, when the fate of millions depended on the voice of one, it is the present period in these states. Every free citizen of the American empire, ought now to consider himself as the legislator of half mankind. When he views the amazing extent of territory, settled and to be sett'd under the operation of his laws—when, like a wise politician, he contemplates the population of future ages—the changes to be wrought by the possible progres of arts, in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures—the increasing connection and intercourse of nations, and the effect of one rational political system upon the general happiness of mankind—his mind, dilated with the great idea, will realize a liberality of feeling which leads to a rectitude of conduct. He will see that the system to be established by his suffrage is calculated for the great benevolent purposes of extending peace, happiness, and progressive improvement to a large proportion of his fellow creatures. As there is a probability that the system to be proposed by the Convention may answer this description, there is every reason to hope it will be viewed by the people with that candor and dispassionate respect which is due to the importance of the subject.

While the anxiety of the feeling heart is breathing the perpetual sigh for the attainment of so great an object, it becomes the strongest duty of the social connection, to enlighten and harmonize the minds of our fellow citizens, and point them to a knowledge of their interests, as an extensive federal people, and fathers of increasing nations. The price put into their hands is great, beyond all comparison; and, as they improve it, they will entail happiness or misery upon a larger proportion of human beings, than could be affected by the conduct of all the nations of Europe united.

Those who are possessed of abilities or information in any degree above the common rank of their fellow citizens, are called upon by every principle of humanity, to

diffuse a spirit of candor, and rational enquiry upon these important subjects.

The present is an age of philosophy; and America, the empire of reason. Here, neither the pageantry of courts, nor the glooms of superstition, have dazzled or beclouded the mind. Our duty calls us to act worthy of the age and the country that gave us birth. Though inexperience may have betrayed us into errors; yet these have not been fatal; and our own discernment will point us to their proper remedy.

However defective the present confederated system may appear—yet a due consideration of the circumstances under which it was framed, will teach us rather to admire its wisdom, than to murmur at its faults. The same political abilities which were displayed in that institution, united with the experience we have had of its operation, will doubtless produce a system, which will stand the test of ages, in forming a powerful and happy people.

Elevated with this extensive prospect, we may consider present inconveniences as unworthy of regret. At the close of the war, an uncommon plenty of circulating specie, and an universal passion for trade, tempted many individuals to involve themselves in ruin, and injure the credit of their country. But these are evils which work their own remedy. The paroxysm is already over. Industry is increasing faster than ever it declined; and, with some exceptions, where legislative authority has sanctioned fraud, the people are honestly discharging their private debts, and increasing the resources of their wealth.

Every possible encouragement for great and generous exertions, is now presented before us. Under the idea of a permanent and happy government, every point of view in which the future situation of America can be placed, fills the mind with a peculiar dignity, and opens an unbounded field of thought. The natural resources of the country are inconceivably various and great. The enterprising genius of the people promises a most rapid improvement in all the arts that embellish human nature. The blessings of a rational government will invite emigrations

tions from the rest of the world, and fill the empire with the worthiest and happiest of mankind ; while the example of political wisdom and felicity here to be displayed, will excite emulation through the kingdoms of the earth, and meliorate the condition of the human race. ——

SPEECH of Lord CHATHAM, upon the right of the British Parliament to tax America.

IT is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in parliament. When the resolution was taken in this house to tax America, I was ill in bed : If I could have endured to be carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to lay me down on this floor, that I might have borne testimony against it. It is now an act that has passed—I would speak with decency of every act of this house, but I must beg the indulgence of the house to speak of it with freedom.

I hope a day may be soon appointed to consider the state of the nation with respect to America. I hope gentlemen will come to this debate with all the temper and impartiality his Majesty recommends, and the importance of the subject requires : A subject of greater importance than ever engaged the attention of this house ; that subject only excepted, when, near a century ago, it was the question, whether you yourselves were to be bound or free. In the mean time, as I cannot depend upon health for any future day, such is the nature of my infirmities, I will beg to say a few words at present ; leaving the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the act, to another time. I will speak to one point only ; a point which seems not to have been generally understood—I mean to the right. Some gentlemen seem to have considered it as a point of honor. If gentlemen consider it in that light, they leave all measures of right and wrong, to follow a delusion that may lead to destruction. It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay

lay a tax upon the Colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom over the Colonies, to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen ; equally bound by its laws, and equally participating of the constitution of this free country. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary grant of the commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, is necessary only to close with the form of a law. The gift is of the commons alone.

In ancient days, the crown, the barons and the clergy possessed the lands. In those days the barons and clergy granted to the crown. They gave what was their own. At present, since the discovery of America, and other circumstances permitting, the commons are become the proprietors of the land. The crown has divested itself of its great estates. The church has but a pittance. The property of the Lords, compared with that of the commons, is as a drop of water in the ocean : and this house represents those commons, the proprietors of the lands ; and those proprietors virtually represent the rest of the inhabitants. When therefore in this house we give, we give what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do ? We, your majesty's commons of Great Britain, grant to your majesty, what ! Our own property ! No. We give and grant to your Majesty, the property of your Majesty's commons in America.—It is an absurdity in terms.

The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty. The crown, the peers, are equally legislative powers with the commons. If taxation is a part of simple legislation, the crown, the peers, have rights in taxation as well as yourselves : rights which they will claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by power.

There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually

ally represented in this house. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here ! Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county of this kingdom ! Would to God that respectable representations were augmented to a greater number ! Or will you tell him that he is represented by any member from a borough—a borough which perhaps no man ever saw. The idea of a virtual representation of America in this house, is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of a man—it does not deserve a serious refutation. The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right of granting their own money. They would have been slaves, if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time, this kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative power, has always bound the colonies, by her laws, by her regulations, and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures—in every thing, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.

In the same debate Mr. Grenville, after speaking long in favor of the bill, concluded with saying, “ These children of our own planting (meaning the Americans) nourished by our indulgence, until they are grown to a good degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy load of national expence, which we lie under ? ”

Colonel Barré replied “ Children planted by your care ! No ! your oppression planted them in America ; they fled from your tyranny, into a then uncultivated land, where they were exposed to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and among others, to the savage cruelty of the enemy of the country, a people the most subtle, and I take upon me to say, the most truly terrible, of any people that ever inhabited any part of GOD’s EARTH ; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure,

ture, compared with those they suffered in their own country, from the hands of those that should have been their friends.

" *They nourished up by your indulgence?* They grew by your neglect of them : as soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, in one department and another, who were perhaps, the deputies of some deputy, sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them ; men, whose behavior, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty, to recoil within them ; men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to foreign countries, to escape being brought to a bar of justice in their own.

" *They protected by your arms?* They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted their valor amidst constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country, the interior parts of which, while its frontiers were drenched in blood, have yielded its little savings to your enlargement ; and *believe me, remember I this day told you so,* That the same spirit which actuated that people at first, will continue with them still ; but prudence forbids me to explain myself any further. God knows, I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat. However superior to me, in general knowledge and experience, any one here may be, yet I claim to know more of America, having seen and been more conversant in that country. The people there are truly loyal, I believe, as any subjects the King has ; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if they should be violated ;—but the subject is delicate. I will say no more.

From Cicero's Orations against Verres.

TH E time is come, Fathers, when that which has long been wished for towards allaying the envy your

your order has been subject to, and removing the imputations against trials, is (not by human contrivance, but superior direction) effectually put in our power. An opinion has long prevailed, not only here at home, but likewise in foreign countries, both dangerous to you, and pernicious to the state, viz. that, in prosecutions, men of wealth are always safe, however clearly convicted. There is now to be brought upon his trial before you, to the confusion, I hope, of the propagators of this slanderous imputation, one whose life and actions condemn him in the opinion of all impartial persons, but who, according to his own reckoning and declared dependence upon his riches, is already acquitted; I mean Caius Verres. If that sentence is passed upon him which his crimes deserve, your authority, fathers, will be venerable and sacred in the eyes of the public. But if his great riches should bias you in his favor, I shall still gain one point, viz. to make it apparent to all the world, that what was wanting in this case was not a criminal nor a prosecutor, but justice and adequate punishment.

To pass over the shameful irregularities of his youth, what does his quæstorship, the first public employment he held, what does it exhibit, but one continued scene of villanies? Cneius Carbo plundered of the public money by his own treasurer, a consul stripped and betrayed, an army deserted and reduced to want, a province robbed, the civil and religious rights of a people violated. The employment he held in Asia Minor and Pamphylia, what did it produce, but the ruin of those countries? in which houses, cities, and temples, were robbed by him. What was his conduct in his prætorship here at home? Let the plundered temples, and the public works, neglected that he might embezzle the money intended for carrying them on, bear witness. But his prætorship in Sicily crowns all his works of wickedness, and furnishes a lasting monument to his infamy. The mischiefs done by him in that country during the three years of his iniquitous administration, are such, that many years under the wisest and best of prætors will not be sufficient to restore things

things to the condition in which he found them. For it is notorious, that, during the time of his tyranny, the Sicilians neither enjoyed the protection of their own original laws, of the regulations made for their benefit by the Roman senate upon their coming under the protection of the commonwealth, nor of the natural and unalienable rights of men. His nod has decided all causes in Sicily these three years; and his decisions have broke all law, all precedent, all right. The sums he has by arbitrary taxes and unheard of impositions extorted from the industrious poor, are not to be computed. The most faithful allies of the commonwealth have been treated as enemies. Roman citizens have, like slaves, been put to death with tortures. The most atrocious criminals, for money, have been exempted from deserved punishments; and men of the most unexceptionable characters condemned and banished unheard. The harbors, though sufficiently fortified, and the gates of strong towns, opened to pirates and ravagers; the soldiery and sailors belonging to a province under the protection of the commonwealth, starved to death: whole fleets, to the great detriment of the province, suffered to perish; the ancient monuments of either Sicilian or Roman greatness, the statues of heroes and princes, carried off; and the temples stripped of the images. The infamy of his lewdness has been such as decency forbids me to describe; nor will I, by mentioning particulars, put those unfortunate persons to fresh pain, who have not been able to save their wives and daughters from his impurity. And these his atrocious crimes have been committed in so public a manner, that there is no one who has heard of his name, but could reckon up his actions.—Having, by his iniquitous sentences, filled the prisons with the most industrious and deserving of the people, he then proceeded to order numbers of Roman citizens to be strangled in the gaols; so that the exclamation, “ I am a citizen of Rome!” which has often, in the most distant regions and among the most barbarous people been a protection, was of no service to them, but on the contrary brought

brought on a speedier and more severe punishment upon them.

I ask, now, Verres, what you have to advance against this charge? Will you pretend to deny it? Will you pretend, that any thing false, that even any thing aggravated, is alledged against you? Had any prince or any state committed the same outrage against the privilege of Roman citizens, should we not think we had sufficient ground for declaring immediate war against them? What punishment ought then to be inflicted upon a tyrannical and wicked prætor, who dared, at no greater distance than Sicily, within sight of the Italian coast, to put to the infamous death of crucifixion, that unfortunate and innocent citizen Publius Gavius Cofanus, only for his having asserted his privilege of his citizenship, and declared his intention of appealing to the justice of his country against a cruel oppressor, who had unjustly confined him in prison at Syracuse, from whence he had just made his escape? The unhappy man, arrested as he was going to embark for his native country, is brought before the wicked prætor. With eyes darting fury, and a countenance distorted with cruelty, he orders the helpless victim of his rage to be stripped, and rods to be brought; accusing him, but without the least shadow of evidence, or even of suspicion, of having come to Sicily as a spy. It was in vain that the unhappy man tried out "I am a Roman citizen; I have served under Lucius Pretius, who is now at Panormus, and will attest my innocence." The blood-thirsty prætor, deaf to all he could urge in his own defence, ordered the infamous punishment to be inflicted. Thus, fathers, was an innocent Roman citizen publicly mangled with scourging; whilst the only words he uttered amidst his cruel sufferings, were, "I am a Roman citizen!" With these he hoped to defend himself from violence and infamy: but of so little service was this privilege to him, that while he was thus asserting his citizenship, the order was given for his execution—for his execution upon the cross!—

O liberty!—O sound once delightful to every Roman

ear !—O sacred privilege of Roman citizenship! once sacred!—now trampled upon! But what then? Is it come to this? Shall an inferior magistrate, a governor who holds his own power of the Roman people, in a Roman province, within sight of Italy, bind, scourge, torture with fire and red-hot plates of iron, and at last put to the infamous death of the cross, a Roman citizen? Shall neither the cries of innocence expiring in agony, nor the tears of pitying spectators, nor the majesty of the Roman commonwealth, nor the fear of the justice of his country, restrain the licentious and wanton cruelty of a monster, who, in confidence of his riches, strikes at the root of liberty, and sets mankind at defiance.

I conclude with expressing my hopes, that your wisdom and justice, fathers, will not, by suffering the atrocious and unexampled insolence of Caius Verres to escape the due punishment, leave room to apprehend the danger of a total subversion of authority, and introduction of general anarchy and confusion.

Speech of Canuleius, a Roman Tribune, to the Consuls; in which he demands that the Plebeians may be admitted into the Consulship, and that the Law prohibiting Patricians and Plebeians from intermarrying, may be repealed.

WHAT an insult upon us is this! If we are not so rich as the Patricians, are we not citizens of Rome as well as they? inhabitants of the same country? members of the same community? The nations bordering upon Rome, and even strangers more remote, are admitted, not only to marriages with us, but to what is of much greater importance, the freedom of the city. Are we, because we are commoners, to be worse treated than strangers?—And, when we demand that the people may be free to bestow their offices and dignities on whom they please, do we ask any thing unreasonable or new? Do we claim more than their original inherent right? What occasion, then, for all this uproar, as if

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the universe were falling to ruin ? They were just going to lay violent hands upon me in the senate-house.

What ! must this empire, then, be unavoidably over-turned ; must Rome of necessity sink at once, if a Plebeian, worthy of the office, should be raised to the consulship ? The Patricians, I am persuaded, if they could, would deprive you of the common light. It certainly offends them that you breathe, that you speak, that you have the shapes of men. Nay, but to make a commoner a consul, would be, say they, a most enormous thing. Numa Pompilius, however, without being so much as a Roman citizen, was made king of Rome. The elder Tarquin, by birth not even Italian, was nevertheless placed upon the throne. Servius Tullius, the son of a captive woman (nobody knows who his father was), obtained the kingdom as the reward of his wisdom and virtue. In those days, no man in whom virtue shone conspicuous was rejected or despised on account of his race and descent. And did the state prosper the less for that ? Were not these strangers the very best of all our kings ? And, supposing, now, that a Plebeian should have their talents and merit, must not he be suffered to govern us ?

But, “ we find, that, upon the abolition of the regal power, no commoner was chosen to the consulate.” And what of that ? Before Numa’s time, there were no pontiffs in Rome. Before Servius Tullius’s days, there were no census, no division of the people into classes and centuries. Who ever heard of consuls, before the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud ? Dictators we all know, are of modern invention ; and so are the offices of tribunes, ~~adiles~~, quæstors. Within these ten years we have made decemvirs, and we have unmade them. Is nothing to be done but what has been done before ? That very law forbidding marriages of Patricians with Plebeians, is not that a new thing ? Was there any such law before the decemvirs enacted it ? and a most shameful one it is in a free state. Such marriages, it seems, will taint the pure blood of the nobility ! Why, if they think so, let them take care to match their sisters and daughters with men

of their own sort. No Plebeian will do violence to the daughter of a Patrician. Those are exploits for our prime nobles. There is no need to fear that we shall force any body into a contract of marriage. But, to make an express law to prohibit marriages of Patricians with Plebeians, what is this but to show the utmost contempt of us, and to declare one part of the community to be impure and unclean ?

They talk to us of the confusion there will be in families, if this statute should be repealed. I wonder they don't make a law against a commoner's living near a nobleman, or going the same road that he is going, or being present at the same feast, or appearing in the same market-place. They might as well pretend that these things make confusion in families, as that intermarriages will do it. Does not every one know, that the children will be ranked according to the quality of their father, let him be a Patrician or a Plebeian ? In short, it is manifest enough that we have nothing in view but to be treated as men and citizens ; nor can they who oppole our demand have any motive to do it but the love of domineering. I would fain know of you, Consuls and Patricians, is the sovereign power in the people of Rome, or in you ? I hope you will allow, that the people can, at their pleasure, either make a law or repeal one. And will you, then, as soon as any law is propofed to them, pretend to list them immediately for the war, and hinder them from giving their suffrages, by leading them into the field ?

Hear me, consuls. Whether the news of the war you talk of be true, or whether it be only a false rumour spread abroad for nothing but a colour to send the people out of the city, I declare, as tribune, that this people, who have already so often spilt their blood in our country's cause, are again ready to arm for its defence and its glory, if they may be restored to their natural rights, and you will no longer treat us like strangers in our own country : but, if you account us unworthy of your alliance by intermarriages, if you will not suffer the entrance

entrance to the chief offices in the state to be open to all persons of merit indifferently, but will confine your choice of magistrates to the senate alone—talk of wars as much as ever you please ; paint, in your ordinary discourses, the league and power of our enemies, ten times more dreadful than you do now—I declare, that this people whom you so much despise, and to whom you are nevertheless indebted for all your victories—shall never more enlist themselves ; not a man of them shall take arms ; not a man of them shall expose his life for impious lords, with whom he can neither share the dignities of the state, nor in private life have any alliance by marriage.

Speech of Publius Scipio to the Roman Army before the Battle of the Ticin.

WERE you, soldiers, the same army which I had with me in Gaul, I might well forbear saying any thing to you at this time : for what occasion could there be to use exhortation to cavalry that had so signally vanquished the squadrons of the enemy upon the Rhone ; or to legions, by whom that same enemy, flying before them to avoid a battle, did in effect confess themselves conquered ? But as these troops, having been enrolled for Spain, are there with my brother Cneius, making war under my auspices (as was the will of the senate and people of Rome), I, that you might have a consul for your captain against Hannibal and the Carthaginians, have freely offered myself for this war. You, then, have a new general ; and I a new army. On this account, a few words from me to you will be neither improper nor unseasonable.

That you may not be unapprised of what sort of enemies you are going to encounter, or of what is to be feared from them, they are the very same whom, in a former war, you vanquished both by land and sea ; the same, from whom you took Sicily and Sardinia, and who have been these twenty years your tributaries. You will not

I presume, march against these men with only that courage with which you are wont to face other enemies ; but with a certain anger and indignation, such as you would feel if you saw your slaves on a sudden rise up in arms against you. Conquered and enslaved, it is not boldness, but necessity, that urges them to battle ; unless you can believe that those who avoided fighting when their army was entire, have acquired better hope by the loss of two-thirds of their horse and foot in the passage of the Alps.

But you have heard perhaps, that, though they are few in number, they are men of stout hearts, and robust bodies ; heroes of such strength and vigour as nothing is able to resist.—Mere effigies ! nay, shadows of men ! wretches, emaciated with hunger, and benumbed with cold ! bruised and battered to pieces among the rocks and craggy cliffs ! their weapons broken, and their horses weak and foundered ! Such are the cavalry, and such the infantry, with which you are going to contend ; not enemies, but the fragments of enemies. There is nothing which I more apprehend, than that it will be thought Hannibal was vanquished by the Alps before we had any conflict with him. But, perhaps, it was fitting it should be so ; and that, with a people and a leader who had violated leagues and covenants, the gods themselves, without man's help, should begin the war, and bring it to a near conclusion ; and that we, who, next to the gods, have been injured and offended, should happily finish what they have begun.

I need not be in any fear that you should suspect me of saying these things merely to encourage you, while inwardly I have different sentiments. What hindred me from going into Spain ? That was my province, where I should have had the less dreaded Asdrubal, not Hannibal, to deal with. But, hearing, as I passed along the coast of Gaul, of this enemy's march, I landed my troops, sent the horse forward, and pitched my camp upon the Rhone. A part of my cavalry encountered, and defeated that of the enemy. My infantry not being able to overtake theirs, which fled before us, I returned to my fleet ;

fleet ; and, with all the expedition I could use in so long a voyage by sea and land, am come to meet them at the foot of the Alps. Was it, then, my inclination to avoid a contest with this tremendous Hannibal ? and have I met with him only by accident and unawares ? or am I come on purpose to challenge him to the combat ? I would gladly try, whether the earth, within these twenty years, has brought forth a new kind of Carthaginians ; or whether they be the same sort of men who fought at the *Aegates*, and whom at Eryx you suffered to redeem themselves at eighteen denarii *per head* : whether this Hannibal, for labors and journeys, be, as he would be thought, the rival of Hercules ; or whether he be, what his father left him, a tributary, a vassal, a slave of the Roman people. Did not the consciousness of his wicked deed at Saguntum torment him and make him desperate, he would have some regard, if not to his conquered country, yet surely to his own family, to his father's memory, to the treaty written with Amilcar's own hand. We might have starved him in Eryx ; we might have passed into Africa with our victorious fleet ; and, in a few days, have destroyed Carthage. At their humble supplication, we pardoned them ; we released them, when they were closely shut up without a possibility of escaping ; we made peace with them when they were conquered. When they were distressed by the African war, we considered them, we treated them, as a people under our protection. And what is the return they make us for all these favors ? Under the conduct of a hare-brained young man, they come hither to overturn our state, and lay waste our country.—I could wish, indeed, that it were not so ; and that the war we are now engaged in concerned only our own glory, and not our preservation. But the contest at present is not for the possession of Sicily and Sardinia, but of Italy itself : nor is there behind us another army, which, if we should not prove the conquerors, may make head against our victorious enemies. There are no more Alps for them to pass, which might give us leisure to raise new forces. No, soldiers ; here you must make your stand

stand, as if you were just now before the walls of Rome. Let every one reflect, that he is now to defend, not his own person only, but his wife, his children, his helpless infants. Yet, let not private considerations alone possess our minds : let us remember that the eyes of the senate and people of Rome are upon us ; and that, as our force and courage shall now prove, such will be the fortune of that city and of the Roman empire.

Caius Marius to the Romans ; shewing the absurdity of their hesitating to confer on him the rank of General merely on Account of his Extraction.

IT is but too common, my Countrymen, to observe a material difference between the behavior of those who stand candidates for places of power and trust, before and after their obtaining them. They solicit them in one manner, and execute them in another. They set out with a great appearance of activity, humility, and moderation ; and they quickly fall into sloth, pride, and avarice.—It is, undoubtedly, no easy matter to discharge, to the general satisfaction, the duty of a supreme commander in troublesome times. To carry on, with effect, an expensive war, and yet be frugal of the public money ; to oblige those to serve, whom it may be delicate to offend ; to conduct, at the same time, a complicated variety of operations ; to concert measures at home, answerable to the state of things abroad ; and to gain every valuable end, in spite of opposition from the envious, the factious, and the disaffected—to do all this, my countrymen, is more difficult than is generally thought.

But, besides the disadvantages which are common to me with all others in eminent stations, my case is, in this respect, peculiarly hard—that, whereas a commander of Patrician rank, if he is guilty of a neglect or breach of duty, has his great connections, the antiquity of his family, the important services of his ancestors, and the multitudes he has, by power, engaged in his interest, to screen him from condign punishment, my whole safety depends

depends upon myself ; which renders it the more indispensably necessary for me to take care that my conduct be clear and unexceptionable. Besides, I am well aware, my Countrymen, that the eye of the public is upon me ; and that, though the impartial, who prefer the real advantage of the commonwealth to all other considerations, favor my pretensions, the Patricians want nothing so much as an occasion against me. It is, therefore my fixed resolution, to use my best endeavors, that you be not disappointed in me, and that their indirect designs against me may be defeated.

I have, from my youth, been familiar with toils and with dangers. I was faithful to your interest, my countrymen, when I served you for no reward but that of honor. It is not my design to betray you, now that you have conferred upon me a place of profit. You have committed to my conduct the war against Jugurtha. The Patricians are offended at this. But, where would be the wisdom of giving such a command to one of their honorable body ? a person of illustrious birth, of ancient family, of innumerable statues, but—of no experience ! What service would his long line of dead ancestors, or his multitude of motionless statues, do his country in the day battle ? What could such a general do, but, in his trepidation and experience, have recourse to some inferior commander for direction in difficulties to which he was not himself equal ? Thus, your Patrician general would in fact have a general over him ; so that the acting commander would still be a Plebeian. So true is this, my Countrymen, that I have, myself, known those who have been chosen consuls, begin then to read the history of their own country, of which, till that time, they were totally ignorant ; that is, they first obtained the employment, and then bethought themselves of the qualifications necessary for the proper discharge of it.

I submit to your judgment, Romans, on which side the advantage lies, when a comparison is made between Patrician haughtiness and Plebeian experience. The very actions, which they have only read, I have partly seen, and

and partly myself atchieved. What they know by reading, I know by action. They are pleased to slight my mean birth : I despise their mean characters. Want of birth and fortune is the objection against me ; want of personal worth,against them. But are not all men of the same species ! What can make a difference between one man and another, but the endowments of the mind ? For my part, I shall always look upon the bravest man as the noblest man. Suppose it were enquired of the fathers of such Patricians as Albinus and Bestia, whether, if they had their choice, they would desire sons of their character, or of mine ? what would they answer, but that they should wish the worthiest to be their sons ? If the Patricians have reason to despise me, let them likewise despise their ancestors, whose nobility was the fruit of their virtue. Do they envy the honors bestowed upon me ? let them envy, likewise, my labors, my abstinence, and the dangers I have undergone for my country, by which I have acquired them. But those worthless men lead such a life of inactivity, as if they despised any honors you can bestow ; whilst they aspire to honors, as if they had deserved them by the most industrious virtue. They lay claim to the rewards of activity, for their having enjoyed the pleasures of luxury. Yet none can be more lavish than they are in praise of their ancestors. And they imagine they honor themselves by celebrating their forefathers ; whereas they do the very contrary: for, as much as their ancestors were distinguished for their virtues, so much are they disgraced by their vices. The glory of ancestors casts a light, indeed, upon their posterity ; but it only serves to show what the descendants are. It alike exhibits to public view their degeneracy and their worth. I own I cannot boast of the deeds of my forefathers ; but I hope I may answer the cavils of the Patricians by standing up in defence of what I have myself done.

Observe now, my Countrymen, the injustice of the Patricians. They arrogate to themselves honors on account of the exploits done by their forefathers, whilst they

they will not allow me the due praise for performing the very same sort of actions in my own person. He has no statues, they cry, of his family. He can trace no venerable line of ancestors.—What then? Is it matter of more praise to disgrace one's illustrious ancestors, than to become illustrious by one's own good behavior? What if I can show no statues of my family? I can show the standards, the armor, and the trappings, which I have myself taken from the vanquished: I can show the scars of those wounds, which I have received by facing the enemies of my country. These are my statues. These are the honors I boast of. Not left me by inheritance, as theirs: but earned by toil, by abstinence, by valor; amidst clouds of dust and seas of blood: scenes of action, where those effeminate Patricians, who endeavour by indirect means to depreciate me in your esteem, have never dared to show their faces.

*FRAGMENT of an original Letter on the Slavery of the
Negroes; written in 1776, by THOMAS DAY, Esq.*

I Am extremely fearful of expressing myself obscurely upon so abstract a subject, and must therefore, though with the hazard of prolixity, attempt to place it in a different light.—If you imagine any number of the human species assembled in some particular part of the globe, without any form of government established among them, it is evident, that these individuals may either live together in such a manner as to produce mutual comfort and assistance, or may be the cause of continual misery to each other. No proposition in the mathematics can be investigated with more precision than the methods of conduct which have these contrary tendencies. Every disposition which inclines one man to assist another, or to avoid giving him offence, or doing him an injury, must necessarily contribute to the common welfare; which would be perfect, were these dispositions cultivated in the greatest possible degree. On the contrary, every disposition which, either by fraud or violence, tends to interrupt

the

the personal security of individuals, or deprive them of those things which they have acquired by their industry, is detrimental to the sum of happiness, and would, if carried to the greatest possible degree, entirely destroy that part of the species.—In this view of things, morality arises from necessity, and comprehends “ certain rules of conduct founded upon the relations which beings endowed with particular faculties bear to each other ; which rules, when properly observed, produce happiness to society ; but when violated or neglected, as necessarily occasion misery, as fire or pointed substances excite pain, when they act too forcibly upon the nerves.”

I hardly think that the greatest sceptic will deny these distinctions, founded upon facts as certain as the impression of any material substance upon our senses. If we now proceed a little farther, we shall find that the dispositions, which produce these different kinds of conduct, are, by the moralists expressed by different names, and enforced by different motives, according to their several systems ; while natural religion adds its sanctions, and inclines us to believe that the Deity himself, who has displayed so great an attention to the happiness and preservation of his creatures here, may extend his benevolence to another stage of existence and compensate the evil sometimes unmeritedly suffered below. But if we admit the evidence of revealed religion, the scheme of human things is perfect as it is august ; the clouds which overshadowed our horizon are dissipated, and the gradual progress of triumphant virtue, through dangers and difficulties to eternal happiness, is displayed and ascertained.

2. Having laid down these principles, it is easy to apply them to the particular case in the question. Slavery is the absolute dependance of one man upon another ; and is, therefore, as inconsistent with all ideas of justice as despotism is with the rights of nature. It is a crime so monstrous against the human species, that all those that practise it deserve to be extirpated from the earth. It is no little, indirect attack upon the safety and happiness of our fellow creatures, but one that boldly strikes

at the foundation of all humanity and justice. Robbers invade the property, and murderers, the life of human beings ; but he that holds another man in bondage, subjects the whole sum of his existence to oppression, bereaves him of every hope, and is, therefore, more detestable than a robber and assassin combined. But if no one who has common feeling will commit the outrage, no one who has common sense will attempt to justify it by argument ; since it would involve him in the grossest and most inextricable contradictions. He must allow that every man has by nature an equal right to live, yet that every other man has a right to rob him of it ; that every man has an equal right to subsistence, yet that every other may deprive him of all the means ; and that while every individual is justified by nature and the Deity, in pursuing his own happiness by all innocent methods, every other individual is equally justified in making him miserable. In short, it is reducing every thing to the state before described, from which right and justice are equally excluded.

Of you, sir, who say you have several slaves, I beg leave to ask what are the rights you claim over them ? Is your power circumscribed by no bounds, and are there particular beings who bring into the world all the rights which you yourself can pretend to, but have so entirely lost them by being transported into another country, as to be beyond the protection both of nature and nature's God ?

Surely, sir, unless I am deceived in you, you are a man both of honor and humanity. You start at the idea of wanton and unprovoked barbarity. You would not murder a slave to shew your dexterity, or maim him to prove your strength ; you would not dash an infant upon the ground to feed your dogs, even though he were black ; nor would you rip up the belly of his mother while she was suckling him, to improve your skill in anatomy. You neither would, nor *dare* you commit actions like these ; you feel that you have no right to do them ; or, if you have, that every other man has an equal

and superior right to destroy you like a beast of prey. What then are your rights ? I anticipate your answer : You will feed and clothe your Negroes, you will treat them with humanity and tenderness, and then you have a right to a moderate advantage from their labors. All this, sir, is well ; and could I conceive you had ever acted in another manner, I should never have troubled you with this tedious letter. While your negroes consent to stay with you upon these terms, this is a fair and equitable compact. But what if they should choose to leave you, will you let them go ? if you do, you are a man of honor, sense, and humanity ; but I fear no West-Indian.

Are there no whips, no gibbets, no punishments more dreadful than death itself for contumacious slaves ? And what is this but claiming the detestable power I have mentioned above, that of making other beings miserable, for your interest or amusement ? Who, Sir, gave you a title to their labors, or a right to confine them to loathsome drudgery ? And if you have no right to this, what are the punishments you pretend to inflict, but so many additional outrages ? Has a robber a claim upon your life because you withhold your property ; or a ravisher to a woman's blood, because she defends her chastity ! Either then prove your right to their labors, or acknowledge that the punishments inflicted upon fugitive slaves are a flagitious insult upon justice, humanity and common sense.

3. Permit me, here, to examine for a moment the nature of the title by which you claim an irredeemable property in the labors of your fellow creatures.—A wretch, devoid of compassion and understanding, who calls himself a king of some part of Africa, which suffers the calamity of being frequented by the Europeans, seizes his innocent subjects or engages in an unnecessary war to furnish himself with prisoners ; these are loaded with chains, torn from all their comforts and connections, and driven (like beasts to the slaughter house) down to the sea shore, where the mild subjects of a christian government and a religious

religious king are waiting to agree for the purchase, and transport them to America. They are then thrust by hundreds into an infectious hold of a ship, in which the greatest part frequently perish by disease, while the rest are reserved to experience the candor and humanity of American patriots—If you have never yet considered it, pause here for a moment, and endeavor to impress upon your minds the feelings of a being full as sensible, and perhaps more innocent than you or I, which is thus torn in an instant from every thing that makes life agreeable ; from country, friends and parents ; from the intercourse of mutual affection with mistress, lover or child ; which, possesst of feelings more exquisite than European hearts can conceive, is separated forever from all it loves ; that reduced to a depth of misery, which even in the midst of freedom and affluence, would be sufficient to overwhelm the most hardened disposition, instead of friends and comforters, and obsequious attendants, sees itself surrounded with unrelenting persecutors and unpitying enemies ; wretches who by long intercourse with misery, are grown callous to its agonies ; who answer tears with taunts, and complaints with torture ! I shudder at the horrors which I describe, and blush to be a human creature ! Yet these are not the colors of description, but a recital of facts less strong than the reality. Can any man reflect upon these things, without unutterable remorse ? Can he know that, perhaps, while he is wallowing in luxury and sensuality, there are beings whose existence he has im-bittered, mothers shrieking for their children, and children perishing for want of their mothers ; wretches who are frantic with rage, shame and desperation, or pining in all the agonies of slow and painful death, who might have been at peace if he had never existed ? Can any man know this and hope for mercy, either from his fellow creatures or his God ? After the arrival of the surviving wretches in America, you well know in what manner they are transferred to their conscientious master,—how they are brought to the market, naked, weeping, and in chains—how one man dares to examine his fel-

low creatures as he would do beasts, and bargain for the persons—how all the most sacred duties, affections, and feelings of the human heart, are violated and insulted; and thus you dare to call yourselves the masters of wretches whom you have acquired by fraud, and retain by violence! While I am tracing this practice, which you and every man who has been in the islands or the southern colonies of America, know to be true, my astonishment exceeds even my horror, to find it possible that any one man should seriously doubt whether an equitable title to hold human beings in bondage can be thus acquired.

With what face, Sir, can he who has never respected the rights of nature in another, pretend to claim them in his own favor? How dare the inhabitants of the southern colonies speak of privileges and justice? Is money of so much more importance than life? Or have the Americans shared the dispensing power of St. Peter's successors, to excuse their own observance of those rules which they impose upon others? If there is an object truly ridiculous in nature, it is an American patriot, signing resolutions of independency with the one hand, and with the other brandishing a whip over his affrighted slaves.

4. If men would be consistent, they must admit all the consequences of their own principles; and you and your countrymen are reduced to the dilemma of either acknowledging the rights of your negroes, or of surrendering your own. If there be certain natural and universal rights, as the declarations of your Congress so repeatedly affirm, I wonder how the unfortunate Africans have incurred their forfeiture.—Is it the antiquity, or the virtues, or the great qualities of the English Americans, which constitutes the difference, and entitles them to rights from which they totally exclude more than a fourth part of the species?—Or do you choose to make use of that argument, which the great Montesquieu has thrown out as the severest ridicule, that they are black and you white; that you have lank, long hair, while theirs is short and woolly?

The

The more attentively you consider this subject, the more clearly you will perceive, that every plea, which can be advanced upon it, is the plea of interest and tyranny combating humanity and truth. You cannot hide from yourself, that every title you can alledge must be a title founded upon fraud or violence, and supported by open and avowed injustice, that a man who is born free can never forfeit his inheritance by suffering oppression ; and that it is a contradiction to urge a purchase of what no one has a right to sell ? Nor does it make any difference whether the unfortunate victims pass from one to another, or from one to a thousand masters, any more than whether a nation be enslaved by a first, or by a hundredth tyrant. There can be no prescription against truth and justice ; and the continuance of the evil is so far from justifying, that it is an exaggeration of the crime. What would you say to a man in private life, who should pretend he was no thief, because he only bought stolen goods ; or that he was no villain, because he did not forge a deed himself, but only paid another to do it, and enjoyed the estate by that honorable security ? Yet this is literally the title which the Americans plead to the unfortunate inhabitants of Africa. You do not go to Africa to buy or steal your negroes ; perhaps, because you are two lazy and luxurious : But you encourage an infamous pitiless race of men to do it for you, and conscientiously receive the fruits of their crimes. You do not, merciful men, reduce your fellow creatures to servitude ! No ; men of your independent spirits, that have taken up arms against the government that had protected and established them, rather than pay a tax of three-pence : that have laid the axe to the root of all human authority, and instead of drinking the bitter waters of civil abuses and prescriptive obedience, have ascended to the living fountains of truth, justice and nature, would never make flagitious attempts upon the liberties and happiness of their brethren ? Yes, gentlemen, men of liberal minds like yours, acknowledge all mankind to be their equals.—Leave hereditary tyrants and their flat-

terers to make distinctions unknown to nature, and to degrade one part of the species to brutes, while they equal the other with gods !—You know that this is the greatest of all corruptions, and as such you detest it.—What ! are not all men naturally equal ? And are not all civil distinctions, when legitimate, the permission of the people, and consequently subordinate to their power and control ? Did you not carry the rights of men into the uncultivated desert and the howling wilderness ? Not of Frenchmen, nor of Germans, nor of Englishmen, but of men ;—men, the first and supreme distinction, who, created for freedom and happiness, transport, to every soil the inherent prerogatives of their nature.

Yes, gentlemen, as you are no longer Englishmen, I hope you will please to be men ; and as such, admit the whole human species to a participation of your unalienable rights. You will not, therefore, drag a trembling wretch from his cottage and his family ; you will not tear the child from the arms of his frantic mother, that they may drag on a loathsome existence in misery and chains ; you will not make depredations upon your unoffending neighbors, and after having spread desolation over a fertile country, reduce the innocent inhabitants to servitude. To do this, you must be monsters, worse, I fear than a majority of the House of Commons and the English Ministry.—But you are men tremblingly alive to all the rights and feelings of the kind, and I believe some of you at least are Christians. Your worst actions therefore, the greatest crimes which even your enemies can object, are only that you are the voluntary causes of those mischiefs !—You encourage the English pirate to violate the laws of faith and hospitality, and stimulate him to new excesses by purchasing the fruits of his rapine—Your avarice is the torch of treachery and civil war, which desolates the shores of Africa and shakes destruction on half the majestic species of man.

D I A L O G U E S.

Scene between General SAVAGE and Miss WALSINGHAM ; in which the courtship is carried on in such an ambiguous manner, that the General mistakes her consent to marry his son, Capt. SAVAGE, for consent to marry himself.

Miss Wal. GENERAL Savage, your most humble servant.

Gen. Sau. My dear Miss Walsingham, it is rather cruel that you should be left at home by yourself, and yet I am greatly rejoiced to find you at present without company.

Miss Wal. I can't but think myself in the best company when I have the honor of your conversation, General.

Gen. You flatter me too much, Madam ; yet I am come to talk to you on a serious affair ; an affair of importance to me and yourself. Have you leisure to favor me with a short audience, if I beat a parley ?

Miss Wal. Any thing of importance to you, Sir, is always sufficient to command my leisure.

'Tis as the Captain suspected— [aside.]

Gen. You tremble, my lovely girl, but don't be alarmed ; for tho' my business is of an important nature, I hope it will not be of a disagreeable one.

Miss Wal. And yet I am greatly agitated— [aside.]

Gen. Soldiers, Miss Walsingham, are said to be generally favored by the kind protection of the Ladies.

Miss Wal. The Ladies are not without gratitude, Sir, to those who devote their lives peculiarly to the service of their country.

Gen. Generously said, Madam : Then give me leave, without any masked battery, to ask, if the heart of an honest soldier is a prize at all worth your acceptance.

Miss Wal. Upon my word, Sir, there is no masked battery in this question.

Gen. I am as fond of a coup de main, Madam, in love as in war, and hate the tedious method of sapping a town,

town, when there is a possibility of entering it sword in hand.

Miss Wal. Why really, Sir, a woman may as well know her own mind when she is first summoned by the trumpet of a lover, as when she undergoes all the tiresome formality of a siege. You see I have caught your own mode of conversing, General.

Gen. And a very great compliment I consider it, Madam; But now that you have candidly confessed an acquaintance with your own mind, answer me with that frankness for which every body admires you so much. Have you any objections to change the name of Walsingham?

Miss Wal. Why then frankly, General, I say, no.

Gen. Ten thousand thanks to you for this kind declaration,

Miss Wal. I hope you won't think it a fowrard one.
Gen. I'd sooner see my son run away in the day of battle—I'd sooner think Lord Russell was bribed by Lewis the 14th; and sooner vilify the memory of Algernoon Sidney.

Miss Wal. How unjust it was ever to suppose the General a tyrannical father. *[aside.]*

Gen. You have told me condescendingly, Miss Walsingham, that you have no objection to change your name, I have but one question more to ask.

Miss Wal. Pray propose it, Sir.

Gen. Would the name of Savage be disagreeable to you? Speak frankly again, my dear girl.

Miss Wal. Why then again I frankly say, no.

Gen. You are too good to me. Torrington thought I should meet with a repulse. *[aside.]*

Miss Wal. Have you communicated this business to the Captain, Sir.

Gen. No, my dear Madam, I did not think that at all necessary. I propose that he shall be married in a few days.

Miss. Wal. What whether I will or no?

Gen. O you can have no objection?

Miss Wal.

Miss Wal. I must be consulted, however, about the day, General ; but nothing in my power shall be wanting to make him happy.

Gen. Obliging loveliness !

Miss Wal. You may imagine, that if I had not been previously imprest in favor of your proposal, it would not have met with my concurrence so readily.

Gen. Then you own I had a previous friend in the garrison.

Miss Wal. I don't blush to acknowledge it, Sir, when I consider the accomplishments of the object.

Gen. O this is too much, Madam ; the principal merit of the object is his passion for Miss Walsingham.

Miss Wal. Don't say that, General, I beg of you ; for I don't think there are many women in the kingdom, who could behold him with indifference.

Gen. Ah, you flattering angel !—and yet, by the memory of Marlborough, my lovely girl, it was the idea of a prepossession on your part, which encouraged me to hope for a favorable reception.

Miss Wal. Then I must have been very indiscreet, for I labored to conceal that prepossession as much as possible.

Gen. You could not conceal it from me : the female heart is a field I am thoroughly acquainted with.

Miss Wal. I doubt not your knowledge of the female heart, General ; but as we now understand one another so perfectly, you will give me leave to retire.

Gen. One word my dear creature, and no more ; I shall wait on you some time to day about the necessary settlement.

Miss Wal. You must do as you please, General, you are invincible in every thing.

Gen. And if you please we will keep every thing a profound secret, till the articles are all settled, and the definitive treaty ready for execution.

Miss Wal. You may be sure that delicacy will not suffer me to be communicative on the subject, Sir.

Gen. Then you leave every thing to my management

Miss Wal.

Miss Wal. I can't trust a more noble negotiator.

Gen. The day is my own (*sings*) Britons, strike home ; strike home.

Scene between General Savage, Captain Savage, Miss Walsingham and Torrington, a Lawyer; in which the General discovers his mistake.

Capt. Sav. **N**AY but, my dearest Miss Walsingham, the extenuation of my own conduct to Belville made it absolutely necessary for me to discover my engagements with you ; and as happiness is now so fortunately in our reach, I flatter myself you will be prevailed upon to forgive an error which proceeded only from extravagance of love.

Miss Wal. To think me capable of such an action, Captain Savage ! I am terrified at the idea of a union with you ; and it is better for a woman at any time, to sacrifice an insolent lover, than to accept of a suspicious husband.

Capt. In the happiest union my dearest creature, there must always be something to overlook on both sides.

Miss Wal. Very civil truly.

Capt. Pardon me, my life, for this frankness : and recollect, that if the lover has thro' misconception been unhappily guilty, he brings a husband altogether reformed to your hands.

Miss Wal. Well, I see I must forgive you at last ; so I may as well make a merit of necessity, you provoking creature.

Capt. And may I hope indeed for the blessing of this hand ?

Miss Wal. Why, you wretch, would you have me force it upon you ? I think after what I have said, a soldier might have ventured to take it without further ceremony.

Capt. Angelic creature ! thus I seize it as my lawful prize.

Miss Wal.

Miss Wal. Well, but now you have obtained this inestimable prize, Captain, give me again leave to ask if you have had a certain explanation with the General.

Capt. How can you doubt it ?

Miss Wal. And he is really impatient for our marriage ?

Capt. 'Tis incredible how earnest he is.

Miss Wal. What ! did he tell you of his interview with me this evening, when he brought Mr. Torrington ?

Cap. He did.

Miss Wal. O, then I can have no doubt.

Cap. If a shadow of doubt remains, here he comes, to remove it. Joy, my dear Sir ! joy a thousand times !

Enter Gen. Savage and Torrington.

Gen. What ; my dear boy, have you carried the day ?

Miss Wal. I have been weak enough to indulge him with a victory, indeed, General.

Gen. Fortune favours the brave, Torrington.

Tor. I congratulate you heartily on this decree, General.

Gen. This had nearly proved a day of disappointment, but the stars have fortunately turned it in my favor, and now I reap the rich reward of my victory.

Cap. And here I take her from you as the greatest good which heaven can send me.

Miss Wal. O Captain !

Gen. You take her as greatest good which heaven can send *you*, Sirrah ! I take her as the greatest good which heaven can send *me* : And now what have *you* to say to her ?

Miss Wal. General Savage !

Tor. Here will be a fresh injunction to stop proceedings.

Miss Wal. Are we never to have done with mistakes ?

Gen. What mistakes can have happened now, sweetest ? you delivered up your dear hand to me this moment ?

Miss Wal. True, Sir ; but I thought you were going to bestow my dear hand upon this dear Gentleman.

Gen. How ! that dear Gentleman !

Capt. I am thunder-struck !

Tor. Fortune favors the brave, General, none but the brave. [Laughingly.]

Gen. So the covert way is cleared at last ; and you have

have all along imagined that I was negotiating for this fellow, when I was gravely soliciting for myself.

Miss Wal. No other idea, Sir, ever entered my imagination.

Tor. General, noble minds should never despair.

[*Laughingly.*

Gen. Well, my hopes are blown up to the moon at once, and I shall be the laughing stock of the whole town.

Scene between Mrs. BELVILLE, Miss WALSINGHAM, and Lady RACHEL MILDEW.—On duelling.

Mrs. Bel. **W**HERE is the generosity, where is [alone.] the sense, where is the shame of men, to find pleasure in pursuits which they cannot remember without the deepest horror ; which they cannot follow without the meanest fraud ; and which they cannot effect without consequences the most dreadful ? The greatest triumph which a libertine can ever experience, is too despicable to be envied ; 'tis at best nothing but a victory over his humanity ; and if he is a husband he must be doubly tortured on the wheel of recollection.

Enter Miss WALSINGHAM and Lady RACHEL MILDEW.

Miss Wal. My dear Mrs Belville, I am extremely unhappy to see you so distressed.

Lady Rach. Now I am extremely glad to see her so ; for if she were not greatly distressed, it would be monstrously unnatural.

Mrs. Bel. O Matilda ! my husband ! my children.

Miss Wal. Don't weep, my dear ! don't weep ! pray be comforted, all may end happily. Lady Rachel beg of her not to cry so.

Lady Rach. Why, you are crying yourself, Miss Walsingham. And though I think it out of character to encourage her tears, I cannot help keeping your company.

Mrs. Bel. O, why is not some effectual method contrived to prevent this horrible practice of duelling ?

Lady

Lady Rach. I'll expose it on the stage, since the law now a-days kindly leaves the whole cognizance of it to the theatre.

Miss Wal. And yet if the laws against it, were as well enforced as the laws against destroying the game, perhaps it would be equally for the benefit of the kingdom.

Mrs. Bel. No law will ever be effectual till the custom is rendered infamous. Wives must skrieck ! mothers must agonize ! orphans must be multiplied ! unless some blessed hand strip the fascinating glare from honorable murder, and bravely expose the idol who is worshipped thus in blood. While it is disreputable to obey the laws we cannot look for reformation. But if the duellist is once banished from the presence of his sovereign ; if he is for life excluded the confidence of his country ; if a mark of indelible disgrace is stamped upon him, the sword of public justice will be the sole chastiser of wrongs : trifles will not be punished with death, and offences really meriting such a punishment will be reserved for the only proper revenger, the common executioner.

Lady Rach. I could not have expressed myself better on the subject, my dear, but till such a hand, as you talk of, is found, the best will fall into the error of the times.

Miss Wal. Yes, and butcher each other like madmen, for fear their courage should be suspected by fools.

Col. Rivers and Sir Harry.

Sir Har. **C**OLONEL, your most obedient : I am come upon the old busines ; for unless I am allowed to entertain hopes of Miss Rivers, I shall be the most miserable of all human beings.

Riv. Sir Harry, I have already told you by letter, and I now tell you personally, I cannot listen to your proposals ?

Sir Har. No, Sir ?

Riv. No, Sir, I have promised my daughter to Mr. Sidney ; do you know that, Sir ?

Sir Har. I do ; but what then ! Engagements of this kind, you know—

Riv. So then, you do know I have promised her to Mr. Sidney ?

Sir Har. I do ; but I also know that matters are not finally settled between Mr. Sidney and you ; and I moreover know, that his fortune is by no means equal to mine, therefore—

Riv. Sir Harry, let me ask you one question before you make your consequence.

Sir Har. A thousand if you please, Sir.

Riv. Why then, Sir, let me ask you, what you have ever observed in me or my conduct, that you desire me so familiarly to break my word : I thought, Sir, you considered me as a man of honor.

Sir Har. And so I do, Sir, a man of the nicest honor.

Riv. And yet, Sir, you ask me to violate the sanctity of my word ; and tell me directly, that it is my interest to be a rascal —

Sir Har. I really don't understand you, Colonel : I thought I was talking to a man who knew the world ; and as you have not signed—

Riv. Why, this is mending matters with a witness ! And so you think because I am not legally bound, I am under no necessity of keeping my word ! Sir Harry, laws were never made for men of honor ; they want no bond but the rectitude of their own sentiments, and laws are of no use but to bind the villains of society.

Sir Har. Well ! but my dear Colonel, if you have no regard for me, shew some little regard for your daughter.

Riv. I shew the greatest regard for my daughter, by giving her to a man of honor : and I must not be insulted with any farther repetition of your proposals.

Sir Har. Insult you, Colonel : Is the offer of my alliance an insult ? Is my readiness to make what settlements you think proper—

Riv.

Riv. Sir Henry, I should consider the offer of a kingdom an insult, if it were to be purchased by the violation of my word : Besides, though my daughter shall never go a beggar to the arms of her husband, I would rather see her happy than rich ; and if she has enough to provide handsomely for a young family, and something to spare for the exigencies of a worthy friend, I shall think her as affluent as if she were mistress of Mexico.

Sir Har. Well, Colonel, I have done ; but I believe—

Riv. Well, Sir Harry, and as our conference is done, we will, if you please, retire to the ladies : I shall be always glad of your acquaintance, though I cannot receive you as a son-in-law, for a union of interest I look upon as a union of dishonor, and consider a marriage for money, at best, but a legal prostitution.

Scene between SHYLOCK and TUBAL.*

Shy. **H**OW now, Tubal ? what news from Genoa ?
I have you heard any thing of my backsliding daughter.

Tub. I often came where I heard of her, but could not find her.

Shy. Why there, there, there, a diamond gone that cost me two thousand ducats at Frankfort ! The curse never fell upon the nation till now ! I never felt it before ! Two thousand ducats, in that and other precious jewels ! I wish she lay dead at my feet ! No news of them ! and I know not what spent in the search. Lots upon loss. The thief gone with so much, and so much to find the thief ; and no satisfaction, no revenge ; no ill luck stirring but what lights on my shoulders.

Tub. O yes, other men have ill luck too, Antonio as I heard in Genoa—

Shy. (*Interrupting him*) What has he had ill luck ?

Tub.

* Shylock had sent Tubal after his daughter, who had eloped from his house. Antonio was a merchant hated by Shylock.

Tub. Has had a ship cast away coming from Tripoli.

Sby. Thank fortune ! Is it true ; Is it true ?

Tub. I spoke with some of the sailors that escaped from the wreck.

Sby. I thank you good Tubal. Good news ! Good news ! What in Genoa, you spoke with them.

Tub. Your daughter as I heard, spent twenty ducats in one night.

Sby. You stick a dagger in me, Tubal. I never shall see my gold again. Twenty ducats in one night ? Twenty ducats ? O Father Abraham !

Tub. There came several of Antonio's creditors in my company to Venice, who say he cannot but break.

Sby. I am glad on't. I'll plague him ; I'll torture him ; I am glad on't.

Tub. One of them shewed me a ring he had of your daughter for a monkey.

Sby. Out upon her ! You torture me Tubal ! It was my ruby. I would not have given it for as many monies as could stand together upon Realto.

Tub. Antonio is certainly undone.

Sby. Ay, ay, there is some comfort in that. Go, Tubal, engage an officer. Tell him to be ready. I'll be revenged on Antonio. I'll wash my hands to the elbows in his heart's blood.

Jaffier had married the daughter of Priuli, without his consent ; and being reduced to poverty, he applies to Priuli for help in his distress and receives the following treatment.

Pri. **N**O more ! I'll hear no more ! Be gone and leave me.

Jaf. Not hear me ! By my sufferings but you shall. My Lord ! My Lord ! I am not that abject wretch you think me. Where's the difference that throws me so far behind you, that I must not speak to you ?

Pri. Have you not wronged me ?

Jaf. Could my nature ever have endured the thought of

of doing wrong, I need not now have bent myself thus low, to gain a hearing from a cruel father.

Pri. I say you have wronged me in the nicest point, the honor of my house. You can't defend your baseness to me. When you first came home from travel, I with open arms received you, pleased with your seeming virtues. I sought to raise you. My house, my table, fortune, all was yours. And in return, you treacherously strove to undo me; deceived the joy of my declining age, my only child, and stole her from my bosom.

Jaf. Is this your gratitude to him who saved your daughter's life. You know that but for me you had been childless. I restored her to you, when sunk amidst the waves; I hazarded my life for hers, and she has richly paid me with her generous love.

Pri. You stole her from me; like a thief you stole her; at dead of night, that fatal hour, you chose to rifle me of all my heart held dear. But may your joy in her prove false as mine. May the hard hand of pinching poverty oppress and grind you; till at length you find the curse of disobedience all your fortune. Home and be humble. Study to retrench. Discharge the lazy vermin of thy hall, those pageants of thy folly. Reduce the glittering trappings of thy wife, to humble weeds fit for thy narrow state. Then to some suburb cottage, both retire; and with your starvling brats enjoy your misery. Home, home, I say.

Scene between Lord Peter, Martin, and Jack. *

Peter.

BR E A D, gentlemen, bread is the staff of life. In bread is contained the quintessence of beef, mutton, veal, venison, partridge, plum pudding and custard; and thro' the whole is diffused a wholesome and ferment-

E e 2

ed

* By Peter is meant the Pope; by Martin, the Lutheran Church; and by Jack, the Calvinists. The design of this Dialogue, is to ridicule the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, the arrogance of the Pope, and the evils of persecution.

ed liquor. Therefore he who eats bread at the same time eats the best of food and drinks the best of liquors. Come on, brothers, the cause is good, fall to and spare not. Here is a shoulder of excellent mutton † as ever was cut with knife.

But now my hand is in, I'll help you myself. Young people are bashful. Come, brother Martin, let me help you to this slice.

Mar. My Lord, I doubt with great submiffion, here is some little mistake.

Pet. What, you are merry? Come then, let us hear this jest your head is so big with.

Mar. No jest, indeed, my Lord. But unless I am very much deceived, your Lordship was pleased a little while ago, to drop a word about mutton, and I should be glad to see it upon the table.

Pet. How! I don't comprehend you.

Jack. Why my Lord, my brother Martin, I suppose is hungry, and longs to see the shoulder of mutton you spoke of, come to the table.

Pet. Pray explain yourselves, gentlemen. Either you are both out of your wits, or are disposed to be merry a little unseasonably. You had better keep your jokes till after dinner.

Mar. What then, my Lord, is this brown loaf a shoulder of mutton all this while?

Pet. Pray leave off your impertinence and eat your victuals, if you please, I am not disposed to relish your wit at present.

Mar. Well, my Lord, may I be soured over head and ears in a horse pond, if it seems to my eyes, my fingers, or my nose, either less or more, than a slice of stale six-penny brown loaf.

Jack. If ever I saw a shoulder of mutton in my life look so like a sixpenny brown loaf, I am an old basket woman.

Pet.

† Pointing to a brown loaf on the table. This conversation is supposed to be at table, where the speakers ought to sit, in order to perform to the life. But this may be dispensed with, as my design is to teach children to read and speak.

Pet. Look you, Gentleman, to convince you what a couple of blind positive ignorant puppies you are, I will use but one plain argument. May you both be eternally miserable, if you don't believe this to be a shoulder of as good mutton as ever was sold in market.

Mar. Why truly upon more mature consideration—

Jack. Why, ay, now I have thought more of the matter, your Lordship seems to be in the right.

Pet. O now you are come to yourselves. Boy fill me a bumper of claret. Come, brothers, here is good health to you both.

Mar. and Jack. Thank your good Lordship, and shall be glad to pledge you.

Pet. That you shall my boys. I am not a man to refuse any thing in reason. A moderate glass of wine is a cordial. There* is a bumper a piece for you. True natural juice of the grape. None of your nasty balderdash vintner's brewing. What now † are you at your doubts again? Here boy. Call neighbour Dominic ‡ the blacksmith here. Bid him bring his tongs with him. Red hot, d'ye hear? I'll teach you to doubt.

Mar. Come, Jack. This house is like to be too hot for you and me. He is quite raving mad. Let's get a way || as fast as we can.

Jack. A plague on his crazy head. If ever I put my nose within his door again, may it be pinched off in good earnest.

* Giving them a crust each. † Observing them to stare.

‡ Saint Dominic, the inventor of the inquisition.

|| Separation of the Protestant from the Romish Church.

Juba and Syphax.

Jub. **S**YPHAX, I joy to meet you thus alone.

I have observ'd of late thy looks are fall'n,
O'er cast with gloomy cares and discontent;
Then tell me, Syphax, I conjure thee, tell me
What are the thoughts that knit thy brow in frowns,
And turn thy eye thus coldly on thy prince?

Syph.

Syph. 'Tis not my talent to conceal my thoughts,
Or carry smiles or fun shine in my face,
When discontent sits heavy at my heart:
I have not yet so much of the Roman in me.

Jub. Why dost thou cast out such ungenerous terms
Against the lords and sovereigns of the world?
Dost not thou see mankind fall down before them,
And own the force of their superior virtue?
Is there a nation in the wilds of Afric,
Amidst our barren rocks and burning sands,
That does not tremble at the Roman name?

Syph. Gods! where is the worth that sets this people up,
Above your own Numidia's tawny sons?
Do they with tougher sinews bend the bow?
Or flies the javelin swifter to its mark,
Launch'd from the vigor of a Roman arm?
Who like our active African instructs
The fiery steed, and trains him to his hand?
Or guides in troops the embattled elephant,
Laden with war? These, these are arts, my prince,
In which your Zama does not stoop to Rome.

Jub. These all are virtues of a meaner rank,
Perfections that are placed in bones and nerves.
A Roman soul is bent on higher views:
To civilize the rude unpolish'd world,
To lay it under the restraint of laws;
To make man mild, and sociable to man;
To cultivate the wild licentious savage
With wisdom, discipline, and liberal arts;
The establishments of life: virtues like these,
Make human nature shine, reform the soul,
And break our fierce barbarians into men.

Syph. Patience, just heavens!—Excuse an old man's
warmth.
What are those wondrous civilizing arts,
This Roman polish and this smooth behavior,
That render man thus tractable and tame?
Are they not only to disguise our passions,

To set our looks at variance with our thoughts,
 To eheck the starts and fallies of the soul,
 And break off all its commerce with the tongue ?
 In short, to change us into other creatures,
 Than what our nature and the gods design'd us ?

Jub. To strike thee dumb : turn up thy eyes to Cato !
 There mayst thou see to what a godlike height
 The Roman virtues lift up mortal man.
 While good, and just and, anxious for his friends,
 He's still severely bent against himself ;
 Renouncing sleep, and rest, and food, and ease,
 He strives with thirst and hunger, toil and heat ;
 And when his fortune sets before him all
 The pomp and pleasure that his soul can wish,
 His rigid virtue will accept of none.

Syph. Believe me, prince, there's not an African
 That traverses our vast Numidian desarts
 In quest of prey, and lives upon his bow,
 But better practises these boasted virtues.
 Coarse are his meals, the fortune of the chase,
 Amidst the running stream he flakes his thirst,
 Toils all the day, and at the approach of night
 On the first friendly bank he throws him down,
 Or rests his head upon a rock till morn :
 Then rises fresh, pursues the wonted game,
 And if the following day he chance to find
 A new repast, or an untasted spring,
 Blesses his stars, and thinks it luxury.

Jub. Thy prejudices, Syphax, won't discern
 What virtues grow from ignorance and what from choice,
 Nor how the hero differs from the brute.
 But grant that others could with equal glory
 Look down on pleasures, and the baits of sense ;
 Where shall we find the man that bears affliction,
 Great and majestic in his griefs, like Cato ?
 Heavens ! with what strength, what steadiness of mind,
 He triumphs in the midst of all his sufferings !
 How does he rise against a load of woes,
 And thank the gods that threw the weight upon him !

Syph.

Syph. 'Tis pride, rank pride, and haughtiness of soul :
I think the Romans call it stoicism.

Had not your royal father thought so highly
Of Roman virtue, and of Cato's cause,
He had not fallen by a slave's hand inglorious :
Nor would his slaughter'd army now have lain
On Afric sands, disfigured with their wounds,
To gorge the wolves and vultures of Numidia.

Jub. Why dost thou call my sorrows up afresh !
My father's name brings tears into mine eyes.

Syph. Oh, that you'd profit by your father's ills !

Jub. What wou'dst thou have me do ?

Syph. Abandon Cato.

Jub. Syphax, I should be more than twice an Orphan
by such a loss.

Syph. Ay, there's the tie that binds you !
You long to call him father. Marcia's charms
Work in your heart unseen, and plead for Cato.
No wonder you are deaf to all I say.

Jub. Syphax, your zeal becomes importunate ;
I've hitherto permitted it to rave,
And talk at large ; but learn to keep it in,
Lest it should take more freedom than I'll give it.

Syph. Sir, your great father never used me thus.
Alas, he's dead ! but can you e'er forget
The tender sorrows and the pangs of nature,
The fond embraces, and repeated blessings,
Which you drew from him in your last farewell ?
Still must I cherish the dear, sad remembrance,
At once to torture, and to please my soul.
The good old king at parting wrung my hand,
(His eyes brimfull of tears) then fighing cry'd ;
Pr'thee be careful of my son ! — His grief
Swell'd up so high, he could not utter more.

Jub. Alas, the story melts away my soul,
The best of fathers ! how shall I discharge
The gratitude and duty which I owe him ?

Syph. By laying up his counsels in your heart.

Jub. His counsels bade me yield to thy directions :

Then,

Then, Syphax, chide me in severest terms ;
 Vent all thy passion, and I'll stand its shock,
 Calm and unruffled as a summers sea,
 When not a breath of wind flies o'er its surface.

Syph. Alas, my prince, I'll guide you to your safety

Jub. I do believe thou wouldest ; but tell me how ?

Syph. Fly from the fate of Cesar's foes.

Jub. My father scorn'd to do it.

Syph. And therefore dy'd.

Jub. Better to die ten thousand deaths,
 Than wound my honor.

Syph. Rather say, your love.

Jub. Syphax, I've promis'd to preserve my temper ;
 Why wilt thou urge me to confess a flame
 I long have stifled, and would fain conceal ?

Syph. Believe me, prince, tho' hard to conquer love,
 'Tis easy to divert and break its force :
 Absence might cure it, or a second mistress
 Light up another flame, and put out this.
 The glowing dames of Zama's royal court
 Have faces flush'd with more exalted charms ;
 The sun that rolls his chariot o'er their heads,
 Works up more fire and colour in their cheeks :
 Were you with these, my prince, you'd soon forget
 The pale, unripen'd beauties of the North.

Jub. 'Tis not a set of features, nor complexion,
 The tincture of the skin that I admire.
 Beauty soon grows familiar to the lover,
 Fades in his eyes, and palls upon the sense.
 The virtuous Marcia towers above her sex :
 True, she is fair (Oh, how divinely fair !)
 But still the lovely maid improves her charms,
 With inward greatness, unaffected wisdom,
 And sanctity of manners. Cato's soul
 Shines out in every thing she acts or speaks,
 While winning mildness and attractive smiles
 Dwell in her looks, and with becoming grace
 Soften the rigor of her father's virtues.

Syph. How does your tongue grow wanton in her praise!

Wolsey

Wolfey and Cromwell.

Wol. FAREWELL, a long farewell to all my greatness!

This is the state of man: To-day he puts forth
 The tender leaves of hope; to-morrow blossoms,
 And bears his blushing honors thick upon him;
 The third day comes a frost, a killing frost,
 And when he thinks, good easy man, full surely
 His greatness is a-ripening, nips his shoot;
 And then he falls as I do. I have ventur'd,
 Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,
 These many summers in a sea of glory;
 But far beyond my depth; my high-blown pride
 At length broke under me; and now has left me,
 Weary, and old with service, to the mercy
 Of a rude stream, that must forever hide me.
 Vain pomp and glory of the world, I hate you!
 I feel my heart new open'd. Oh how wretched
 Is that poor man that hangs on prince's favors!
 There is, betwixt that smile he would aspire to,
 That sweet aspect of princes, and his ruin,
 More pangs and fears than war or women have;
 And when he falls he falls like Lucifer,
 Never to rise again.

[Enter Cromwell.]

Why, how now Cromwell?

Crom. I have not power to speak, Sir.

Wol. What, amazed

At my misfortunes? Can thy spirit wonder
 A great man should decline? Nay, if you weep,
 I'm fallen indeed.

Crom. How does your Grace?

Wol. Why, well;

Never so truly happy, my good Cromwell.
 I know myself now, and I feel within me
 A peace above all earthly dignities;
 A still and quiet conscience. The king has cured me,
 I humbly thank his Grace; and from these shoulders,
 These ruin'd pillars, out of pity taken

A load would sink a navy, too much honor.
O, 'tis a burthen, Cromwell, 'tis a burthen,
Too heavy for a man that hopes for heaven !

Crom. I'm glad your Grace has made that right use of it,

Wol. I hope I have : I'm able now, methinks,
Out of a fortitude of soul I feel,
To endure more miseries, and greater far,
Than many weak-hearted enemies dare offer.
What news abroad ?

Crom. The heaviest and the worst,
Is your displeasure with the king.

Wol. God bless him !

Crom. The next is that Sir Thomas More is chosen
Lord Chancellor in your place.

Wol. That's somewhat sudden —
But he's a learned man. May he continue
Long in his highness' favor, and do justice
For truth's sake and his conscience ; that his bones,
When he has run his course, and sleeps in blessings,
May have a tomb of orphans' tears wept on him !

What more ?

Crom. That Cranmer is return'd with welcome
Install'd Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Wol. That's news indeed !

Crom. Last, that the Lady Anne,
Whom the king hath in secrecy long married,
This day was view'd in open as the Queen,
Going to chapel ; and the voice is now
Only about her coronation

Wol. There was the weight that pull'd me down : O
Cromwell.

The king has gone beyond me : all my glories
In that one woman I have lost forever.
No sun shall ever usher forth my honors,
Or gild again the noble troops that waited
Upon my smiles. Go, get thee from me, Cromwell ;
I am a poor fallen man, unworthy now
To be thy lord and master. Seek the king,
(That sun I pray may never set) I've told him

What and how true thou art ; he will advance thee :
 Some little memory of me will stir him,
 (I know his noble nature) not to let
 Thy hopeful service perish too. Go Cromwell,
 Neglect him not ; make use now, and provide
 For thine own future safety.

Crom. O my Lord,
 Must I then leave you ? Must I needs forego
 So good, so noble, and so true a master ?
 Bear witness, all that have not hearts of iron,
 With what a sorrow Cromwell leaves his lord.
 The King shall have my service ; but my prayers
 For ever, and for ever, shall be your's.

Wol. Cromwell, I did not think to shed a tear
 In all my miseries, but thou hast forced me,
 Out of thy honest truth, to play the woman —
 Let's dry our eyes ; and thus far hear me Cromwell.
 And when I am forgotten, as I shall be,
 And sleep in dull cold marble, where mention
 Of me must no more be heard, say then I taught thee ;
 Say, Wolsey, that once rode the waves of glory,
 And founded all the depths and shoals of honor,
 Found thee a way, out of his wreck, to rise in ;
 A sure and safe one, tho' thy master miss'd it.
 Mark but my fall, and that which ruin'd me :
 Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition ;
 By that sin fell the angels ; how can man then
 (Tho' the image of his Maker) hope to win by it ?
 Love thyself last ; cherish those hearts that wait thee !
 Corruption wins not more than honesty.
 Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace,
 To silence envious tongues. Be just and fear not.
 Let all the ends thou aim'st at, be thy Country's,
 Thy God's and Truth's ; then if thou fall'st, O Crom-
 well,
 Thou fall'st a blessed martyr. Serve the King —
 And pr'ythee lead me in —
 There take an inventory of all I have,
 To the last penny, 'tis the Kings. My robe,

And

And my integrity to heav'n, is all
 I dare to call mine own. O Cromwell, Cromwell
 Had I but serv'd my God with half the zeal
 I serv'd my king, he would not in mine age
 Have left me naked to mine enemies.

Crom. Good Sir, have patience.

Wol. So I have. Farewell

The hopes of court ! My hopes in heaven do dwell.

The Quarrel of Brutus and Cassius.

Cas. **T**HAT you have wrong'd me doth appear in this,
 You have condemn'd and noted Lucius Pella,
 For taking bribes here of the Sardians ;
 Wherein my letter (praying on his side,
 Because I knew the man) was slighted of.

Bru. You wrong'd yourself to write in such a case.

Cas. In such a time as this, it is not meet
 That every nice offence should bear its comment.

Bru. Yet let me tell you, Cassius, you yourself
 Are much condemned to have an itching palm.
 To sell and mart your offices for gold,
 To undeservers.

Cas. I an itching palm ?
 You know that you are Brutus that speak this,
 Or, be assured, this speech were else your last.

Bru. The name of Cassius honors this corruption,
 And chastisement doth therefore hide its head.

Cas. Chastisement !—
Bru. Remember March, the ides of March remember ;
 Did not great Julius bleed for justice sake ?
 What villain touch'd his body, that did stab,
 And not for justice ? What, shall one of us,
 That struck the foremost man of all this world,
 But for supporting robbers ; shall we now
 Contaminate our fingers with these bribes ?
 And sell the mighty meed of our large honors
 For so much trash, as may be grasped thus ?
 I would rather be a dog, and bay the moon,

Than

Than such a Roman.

Cas. Brutus, bay not me,
I'll not endure it ; you forget yourself,
To hedge me in ; I am a soldier, I,
Older in practice, abler than yourself
'To make conditions.

Bru. Go to ; you are not, Cassius.

Cas. I am.

Bru. I say, you are not.

Cas. Urge me no more, I shall forget myself—
Have mind upon your health—tempt me no farther.

Bru. Away, slight man !

Cas. Is't possible ?

Bru. Hear me, for I will speak.

Must I give way and room to your rash choler ?

Shall I be frightened when a madman stares ?

Cas. Must I endure all this,

Bru. All this ? ay more. Fret till your proud heart
breaks

Go tell your servants how choleric you are,
And make your bondmen tremble. Must I budge ?
Must I observe you ? must I stand and crouch
Under your testy humor ? Be assured,
You shall digest the venom of your spleen,
Though it do split you ; for from this day forth,
I'll use you for my mirth, yea for my laughter,
When you are waspish.

Cas. Is it come to this ?

Bru. You say, you are a better soldier ;
Let it appear so ? make your vaunting true,
And it shall please me well. For mine own part,
I shall be glad to learn of noble men.

Cas. You wrong me every way ;—you wrong me,
Brutus

I said, an elder soldier, not a better :
Did I say better ?

Bru. If you did, I care not.

Cas. When Cesar liv'd, he durst not thus have moved
me.

Bru.

Bru. Peace, peace, you durst not so have tempted him.
Cas. I durst not!

Bru. No.

Cas. What? durst not tempt him?

Bru. For your life you durst not.

Cas. Do not presume too much upon my love;
 I may do what I shall be sorry for.

Bru. You have done what you should be sorry for.
 There is no terror, Cassius, in your threats;
 For I am arm'd so strong in honesty,
 That they pass by me, as the idle wind,
 Which I respect not. I did send to you
 For certain sums of gold, which you deny'd me;
 For I can raise no money by vile means:
 By heaven, I had rather coin my heart,
 And drop my blood for drachmas, than to wring
 From the hard hand of peasants their vile trash,
 By any indirection. I did send
 To you for gold to pay my legions.

Which you denied me; was that done like Cassius?
 Should I have answered Caius Cassius so?
 When Marcus Brutus grows so covetous,
 To lock such rascal counters from his friends,
 Be ready, gods, with all your thunderbolts,
 Dash him to pieces.

Cas. I deny'd you not.

Bru. You did.

Cas. I did not—he was but a fool
 That brought my answer back. Brutus hath rived my
 heart

A friend should bear a friend's infirmities,
 But Brutus makes mine greater than they are.

Bru. I do not. Still you practise them on me.

Cas. You love me not.

Bru. I do no like your faults.

Cas. A friendly eye could never see such faults.

Bru. A flatterer's would not, though they do
 Appear as huge as high Olympus.

Cas. Come, Anthony, and young Octavius, come!

Revenge yourselves alone on Cætius,
 For Cætius is a-weary of the world ;
 Hated by one he loves ; braved by his brother ;
 Check'd by a bondman ; all his faults observ'd ;
 Set in a note book, learn'd and conn'd by rote
 To cast into my teeth. O I could weep
 My spirit from mine eyes !—There is my dagger,
 And here my naked breast—with in, a heart
 Dearer than Plutus' mine, richer than gold !
 If that thou need'st a Roman's, take it forth.
 I that deny'd thee gold, will give my heart :
 Strike as thou didst at Cæsar ; for I know,
 When thou didst hate him wörst, thou lovedst him better
 Than ever thou lov'dst Cætius

Bru. Sheathe your dagger ;
 Be angry when you will, it shall have scope ;
 Do what you will, dishonor shall be humor.
 O Cætius you are yoked with a lamb,
 That carries anger, as the flint bears fire ;
 Which much inforced, shews a hasty spark,
 And straight is cold again.

Cæf. Hath Cætius lived
 To be but mirth and laughter to his Brutus,
 When grief, and blood ill-temper'd vexeth him ?

Bru. When I spoke that, I was ill-temper'd too.

Cæf. Do yon confess so much ? Give me your hand.

Bru. And my heart too.

Cæf. O Brutus !

Bru. What's the matter ?

Cæf. Have you not love enough to bear with me
 When that rash humor which my mother gave me
 Makes me forgetful ?

Bru. Yes, Cætius, and from henceforth
 When you are over-earnest with your Brutus,
 He'll think your mother chides, and leave you so.

*A Dialogue written in the year 1776, by Mr. Andrus,
of Yale-College, since deceased.*

Blithe. HOW now, Mr. Hunks? Have you settled
the controversy with Baxter?

Hunks. Yes, to a fraction, upon condition that he
would pay me six per cent upon all his notes and bonds,
from the date until they were discharged.

Blithe. Then it seems you have brought him to your
own terms?

Hunks. Indeed I have, I would settle with him upon
no other. Men now-a-days think it a dreadful hardship
to pay a little interest; and will quibble a thousand ways
to fool a body out of their just property; but I've grown
too old to be cheated in that manner. I take care to se-
cure the interest, as well as the principal. And to pre-
vent any difficulty, I take new notes every year, and
carefully exact interest upon interest, and add it to the
principal.

Blithe. You don't exact interest upon interest! this
looks a little like extortion.

Hunks. Extortion! I have already lost more than five
hundred pounds, by a number of rascally bankrupts. I
won't trust a farthing of my money without interest upon
interest.

Blithe. I see I must humor his foible, there's no o-
ther way to deal with him. *Aside.*

Hunks. There's no security in men's obligations, in
these times. And if I've a sum of money in the hands of
those we call good chaps, I'm more plagu'd to get it than
'tis all worth. They would be glad to turn me off with
meer rubbish, if they could. I'd rather keep my money
in my own chest, than let it out for such small inter-
est as I have for it.

Blithe. There's something I confess, in your observa-
tions. We never know when we are secure, unless we
have our property in our chests, or in lands.

Hunks. That's true.—I'd rather have my property in
lands

lands at three per cent, than in the hands of the best man in this town at six—it is fact. Lands will grow higher when the wars are over.

Blithe. You're entirely right. I believe if I'd as much money as you, I should be of the same mind.

Hunks. That's a good disposition. We must all learn to take care of ourselves, these hard times. But I wonder how it happens that your disposition is so different from your son's—he's extremely wild and profuse—I should think it was not possible for you, with all your prudence and dexterity, to get money as fast as he would spend it

Blithe. Oh he's young and airy ; we must make allowances for such things ; we used to do so ourselves when we were young men.

Hunks. No, you're mistaken; I never wore a neck-cloth nor a pair of shoe buckles, on week days, in my life. But that is now become customary among the lowest rank of people.

Blithe. You have been very singular ; there are few men in our age that have been so frugal and saving as you have, but we must always endeavor to conform ourselves a little to the custom of the times. My son is not more extravagant than other young people of his age. He loves to drink a glass of wine sometimes, with his companions, and to appear pretty gaily dressed : but this is only what is natural, and customary for every one. I understand he has formed some connections with your eldest daughter, and I should be fond of the alliance, if I could gain your approbation in the matter.

Hunks. The custom of the times will undo us all—there's no living in this prodigal age—the young people must have their bottles, their tavern dinners, and dice, while the old ones are made perfect drudges to support their luxury.

Blithe. Our families, Sir, without doubt would be very happy in such a connection, if you would grant your consent.

Hunks. I lose all patience when I see the young beaux

beaux and fops strutting about the streets in their laced coats, and ruffled shirts, and a thousand other extravagant articles of expence.

Blithe. Sir, I should be very glad if you would turn your attention to the question I proposed.

Hunks. There's one half of these coxcomical spend-thrifts, that can't pay their rates, and yet they are constantly running into debt, and their prodigality must be supported by poor, honest, laboring men.

Blithe. This is insufferable; I'm vex'd at the old fellow's impertinence. [Aside.]

Hunks. The world has got to a strange pass, a very strange pass indeed; there's no distinguishing a poor man from a rich one, but only by his extravagant dress, and supercilious behavior.

Blithe. I abhor to see a man all mouth and no ears.

Hunks. All mouth and no ears! do you mean to insult me to my face?

Blithe. I ask your pardon, Sir; but I've been talking to you this hour, and you have paid me no attention.

Hunks. Well, and what is this mighty affair upon which you want my opinion.

Blithe. It is something you have paid but very little attention to, it seems: I'm willing to be heard in my turn, as well as you. I was telling that my son had entered upon a treaty of marriage with your eldest daughter, and I desire your consent in the matter.

Hunks. A treaty of marriage! why didn't she ask my liberty before she attempted such a thing? A treaty of marriage! I won't hear a word of it.

Blithe. The young couple are very fond of each other, and may perhaps be ruin'd if you cross their inclinations.

Hunks. Then let them be ruin'd. I'll have my daughter to know she shall make no treaties without my consent.

Blithe. She's of the same mind; that's what she wants now.

Hunks. But you say the treaty is already made; however I'll make it over again.

Blithe.

Blithe. Well, Sir, the stronger the better.

Hunks. But I mean to make it void.

Blithe. I want no trifling in the matter; the subject is not of a trifling nature. I expect you will give me a direct answer, one way or the other.

Hunks. If that's what you desire, I can tell you at once, I have two very strong objections against the proposal; one is, I dislike your son; and the other is, I have determined upon another match for my daughter.

Blithe. Why do you dislike my son, pray?

Hunks. Oh, he's like the rest of mankind, running on in this extravagant way of living. My estate was earned too hardly to be trifled away in such a manner.

Blithe. Extravagant! I'm sure he's very far from deserving that character. 'Tis true, he appears genteel and fashionable among people, but he's in good business, and lives above-board, and that's sufficient for any man.

Hunks. 'Tis fashionable, I suppose, to powder and curl at the barber's an hour or two before he visits his mistress—to pay six-pence or eight-pence for brushing his boots—to drink a glass of wine at every tavern—to dine upon fowls drest in the richest manner:—And he must dirty two or three ruffled shirts in the journey. This is your genteel fashionable way, is it?

Blithe. Indeed, Sir, it is a matter of importance to appear decently at such a time, if ever. Would you have him go as you us'd to upon the same business, dress'd in a long, ill-shapen coat, a greasy pair of breeches, and a flap'd hat; with your oats in one side of your saddle-bags, and your dinner in the other? this would make an odd appearance indeed, in the present age.

Hunks. A fig for the appearance, so long as I gain'd my point, and sav'd my money, and consequently my credit. The coat you mention is the same I have on now. 'Tis not so very long as you would represent it to be—
[measuring the skirts by one leg.] See, it comes but just below the calf. This is the coat that my father was married in, and I after him. It has been in the fashion five times since it was new, and never was alter'd, and 'tis a pretty good coat yet.

Blithe.

Blithe. You've a wonderful faculty of saving your money and credit, and keeping in the fashion at the same time. I suppose you mean by saving your credit, that money and credit are inseparably connected.

Hunks. Yes that they are ; he that has one, need not fear the loss of the other. For this reason, I can't consent to your son's proposal : he's too much of a spend-thrift to merit my approbation.

Blithe. If you call him a spendthrift for this generosity, I desire he never may merit your approbation. A reputation that's gain'd by saving money in the manner you have mention'd, is at best but a despicable character.

Hunks. Do you mean to call my character despicable ?

Blithe. We won't quarrel about the name, since you are so well contented with the thing.

Hunks. You're welcome to your opinion, I would not give a fiddle-stick's-end for your good or ill-will, my ideas of reputation are entirely different from your's, or your son's, which are just the same ; for I find you justify him in all his conduct. But as I have determined upon another match for my daughter, I shan't trouble myself about his behavior.

Blithe. But perhaps your proposed match will be equally disagreeable.

Hunks. No, I've no apprehension of that. He's a person of a fine genius, and an excellent character.

Blithe. Sir, I desire to know who this person is, that has such a genius and character, and is so agreeable to your taste.

Hunks. 'Tis my young cousin Griffin. He's heir to a great estate, you know. He discovered a surprizing genius almost as soon as he was born. When he was a very child, he made him a box, with one small hole in it, into which he could just crowd his money, and could not get it again without breaking his box ; by which means he made a continual addition till he had filled it, and —

Blithe. Enough ! enough ! I've a sufficient idea of his character without hearing another word. But are you sure

sure you shall obtain this excellent match for your daughter?

Hunks. Oh, I'm certain on't, I'll assure you, and my utmost wishes are gratified with the prospect. He has a large patrimony lying between two excellent farms of mine, which are at least worth two thousand pounds. These I've given to my daughter; and have ordered her uncle to take the deeds into his own hands, and to deliver them to her on the day of her marriage.

Blithe. Then it seems you've almost accomplished the business. But have you got the consent of the young gentleman in the affair?

Hunks. His consent! what need I care about his consent, so long as I've his father's, that's sufficient for my purpose!

Blithe. Then you intend to force the young couple to marry, if they are unwilling.

Hunks. Those two thousand pounds will soon give them a disposition, I'll warrant you.

Blithe. Your schemes, I confess, are artfully concerted; but I must tell you, for your mortification, that the young gentleman is already married.

Hunks. What do you say! already married! it can't be! I don't believe a syllable on't!

Blithe. Every syllable is true, whether you believe it or not; I received a letter this day from his father; if you won't believe me, you may read it, [gives him the letter.] There's the account in the postscript. [Points to it.]

Hunks reads. *I had almost forgot to tell you, that last Thursday my son was married to Miss Clary Brentford, and that all parties are very happy in the connection.* Confusion! [throws down the letter.] What does this mean! married to Clary Brentford! this is exactly one of cousin Tom's villainous tricks. He promis'd me that his son should marry my daughter, upon conditions that I would give her those two farms; but I can't imagine from what stupid motives he has alter'd his mind!

Blithe.

Blithe. Disappointment is the common lot of all men; even our surest expectations are subject to misfortune.

Hunks. Disappointment! this comes from a quarter from which I least expected one. But there's the deeds, I'll take care to secure them again; 'tis a good hit that I did not give them to the young rogue beforehand.

Blithe. That was well thought of; you keep a good look-out, I see, though you can't avoid some disappointments. I see nothing in the way now, to hinder my son's proceeding; you will easily grant your consent, now you're cut off from your other expectations.

Hunks. I can't see into this crooked affair—I'm heartily vex'd at it. What cou'd induce that old villain to deceive me in this manner? I fear this was some scheme of my daughter's, to prevent the effect of my design. If this is her plan, if she sets so light by two thousand pounds, she shall soon know what 'tis to want it, I'll promise her.

Blithe. If you had bestow'd your gift, without crossing her inclination, she wou'd have accepted it very thankfully.

Hunks. O, I don't doubt it in the least; that wou'd have been a pretty story indeed! but since she insists upon gratifying a foolish fancy, she may follow her own inclination, and take the consequences of it; but I'll keep the favors I meant to bestow on her, for those that know how to prize them, and that merit them by a becoming gratitude.

Blithe. But you won't reject her, destitute of a patrimony, and a father's blessing?

Hunks. Not one farthing shall she ever receive from my hand. Your son may take her, but her person is barely all that I'll give him: he has seduc'd her to disobey her father, and he shall feel the effects of it.

Blithe. You're somewhat ruffled, I perceive, but I hope you'll recall these rash resolutions in your cooler moments.

Hunks. No, never, I give you my word, and that's fixed as the laws of the Medes and Persians.

Blithe. But look ye, Sir, here's another circumstance to be attended to ; my son has the deeds already in his own hands.

Hunks. Deeds! what deeds ! those I gave to my brother ?

Blithe. Yes, the very same.

Hunks. What a composition of villainy and witchcraft is here ! What ! my deeds given up to your son !

Blithe. Yes ; your brother thought that my son had an undoubted title to them now, since his cousin was married, and so he gave them up the next day.

Hunks. This is intolerable ! I could tear the scalp from my old brainless scull ; why had not I more wit than to trust them with him ! I'm cheated every way ! I can't trust a farthing with the best friend I have on earth ?

Blithe. That's very true—'tis no wonder you can't trust your best friend. The truth of the case is, you have no friend, nor can you expect any, so long as you make an idol of yourself, and feast your sordid, avaricious appetite upon the misfortunes of mankind. You take every possible advantage, by the present calamities, to gratify your own selfish disposition. So long as this is the case, depend upon it you will be an object of universal detestation. There's no one on earth who would not rejoice to see how you're brought in. Your daughter has now got a good inheritance, and an agreeable partner, which you were in duty bound to grant her ; but, instead of that, you were then doing your utmost to deprive her of every enjoyment of life. [*Hunks puts his hand to his breast.*] I don't wonder your conscience smites you for your villainy. Don't you see how justly you have been cheated into your duty ?

Hunks. I'll go this moment to an attorney, and get a warrant ; I'll put the villain in jail before an hour is at an end. Oh, my deeds ! my farms ! what shall I do for my farms !

Blithe. Give yourself no further trouble about them ; there's no evidence in the case ; you must be sensible therefore, an action can't lie. I would advise you to rest contented, and learn from disappointments, not to place such

such an exorbitant value upon wealth. In the mean time I should be very glad of your company at the wedding. My son and his wife would be very happy to see you.

Hunks. The devil fly away with you, and your son, and your son's wife. O! my farms! what shall I do for my farms !

Bevil and Myrtle.

Bev. SIR, I am extremely obliged to you for this honor.

Myrt. The time, the place, our long acquaintance, and many other circumstances, which affect me on this occasion, oblige me, without ceremony or conference to desire, that you will comply with the request in my letter, of which you have already acknowledged the receipt.

Bev. Sir, I have received a letter from you in a very unusual style. But, as I am conscious of the integrity of my behavior with respect to you, and intend that every thing in this matter, shall be your own seeking, I shall understand nothing, but what you are pleased to confirm face to face. You are therefore to take it for granted, that I have forgot the contents of your epistle.

Myrt. Your cool behavior, Mr. Bevil, is agreeable to the unworthy use, you have made of my simplicity and frankness to you. And I see, your moderation tends to your own advantage, not mine; to your own safety, not to justice for the wrongs you have done your friend.

Bev. My own safety ! Mr. Myrtle.

Myrt. Your own safety, Mr. Bevil.

Bevil. Mr. Myrtle, there is no disguising any longer, that I understand what you would force me to. You know my principle upon that point ; and you have often heard me express my disapprobation of the savage manner of deciding quarrels, which tyrannical custom has introduced, to the breach of all laws, both divine and human.

Myrt. Mr. Bevil, Mr. Bevil ! It would be a good first principle

principle, in those who have so tender a conscience that way, to have as much abhorrence at doing injuries, as—
[Turns away abruptly.]

Bevil. As what?

Myrt. As fear of answering them.

Bevil. Mr. Myrtle, I have no fear of answering any injury I have done you; because I have meant you none; for the truth of which I am ready to appeal to any indifferent person, even of your own choosing. But I own, I am afraid of doing a wicked action, I mean of shedding your blood, or giving you an opportunity of shedding mine, cold. I am not afraid of you, Mr. Myrtle. But I own, I am afraid of Him, who gave me this life in trust on other conditions and with other designs, than that I should hazard, or throw it away, because a rash inconsiderate man is pleased to be offended, without knowing whether he is injured, or not. No—I will not for you or any man's humor, commit a known crime; a crime, which I cannot repair, or which may, in the very act, cut me off from all possibility of repentance.

Myrt. Mr Bevil, I must tell you, this coolness, this moralizing, shall not cheat me of my love. You may wish to preserve your life, that you may possess Lucinda. And I have reason to be indifferent about it, if I am to lose all that, from which I expect any joy in life. But I shall first try one means towards recovering her, I mean, by shewing her what a dauntless hero she has chosen for her protector.

Bevil. Shew me but the least glimpse of argument, that I am authoriz'd to contend with you at the peril of the life of one of us, and I am ready upon your own terms. If this will not satisfy you, and you will make a lawless assault upon me, I will defend myself as against a ruffian. There is no such terror, Mr. Myrtle, in the anger of those who are quickly hot, and quickly cold again, they knew not how or why. I defy you to shew wherein I have wrong'd you.

Myrt. Mr. Bevil, it is easy for you to talk coolly on this occasion. You know not, I suppose, what it is to love, and

and from your large fortune and your specious outward carriage, have it in your power to come, without any trouble or anxiety, to the possession of a woman of honor; you know nothing of what is to be alarmed, distracted with the terror of losing what is dearer than life. You are happy. Your marriage goes on like common business; and, in the interim, you have, for your soft moments of dalliance, your rambling captive, your Indian princess, your convenient, your ready Indiana.

Bev. You have touched me beyond the patience of a man: and the defence of spotless innocence, will, I hope excuse my accepting your challenge, or at least my obliging you to retract your infamous aspersions. I will not, if I can avoid it, shed your blood, nor shall you mine. But Indiana's purity I will defend. Who waits?

Serv. Did you call, Sir?

Bev. Yes, go call a coach.

Serv. Sir—Mr. Myrtle—gentlemen—you are friends—I am but a servant—but—

Bev. Call a coach.

[*Exit Serv.*]

[*A long pause. They walk sullenly about the room.*]

[*Afide.*] Shall I (though provoked beyond sufferance) recover myself at the entrance of a third person, and that my servant too; and shall I not have a due respect for the dictates of my own conscience; for what I owe to the best of fathers, and to the defenceless innocence of my lovely Indiana, whose very life depends on mine?

[*To Mr. Myrtle.*] I have, thank heaven, had time to recollect myself, and have determined to convince you, by means I would willingly have avoided, but which yet are preferable to murderous duelling, that I am more innocent of nothing, than of rivalling you in the affections of Lucinda. Read this letter; and consider, what effect it would have had upon you to have found it about the man you had murdered.

[*Myrtle reads.*] "I hope it is consistent with the laws
" a woman ought to impose upon herself to acknowledge,
" that your manner of declining what has been proposed

" or a treaty of marriage in our family, and desiring,
 " that the refusal might come from me, is more engag-
 " ing, than the Smithfield courtship of him, whose
 " arms I am in danger of being thrown into, unless
 " your friend exerts himself for our common safety and
 " happiness."—O, I want no more, to clear your innocence,
 my injured worthy friend.—I see her dear name at the
 bottom—I see that you have been far enough from de-
 signing any obstacle to my happiness, while I have been
 treating my benefactor as my betrayer—O Bevil, with
 what words shall I—

Bev. There is no need of words. To convince is more
 than to conquer. If you are but satisfied, that I meant
 you no wrong, all is as it should be.

Myrt. But can you—forgive—such madness?

Bev. Have not I myself offended? I had almost been
 as guilty as you, though I had the advantage of you, by
 knowing what you did not know.

Myrt. That I should be such a precipitate wretch?

Bev. Prithee no more.

Myrt. How many friends have died by the hand of
 friends, merely for want of temper! what do I not owe
 to your superiority of understanding! what a precipice
 have I escaped! O my friend!—Can you ever—forgive
 —can you ever again look upon me—with an eye of
 favor?

Bev. Why should I not? any man many mistake. Any
 man may be violent, where his love is concerned. I was
 myself.

Myrt. O Bevil! you are capable of all that is great,
 all that is heroic.

Quince, Snug, Bottom, Flute, Snorwt, and Starveling.

Quince. Is all our company here?

Bot. You had best call them conjunctly
 and severally, generally and specially, that is whereof to
 call them man by man, according to the scrip.

Quin. Here is the scroll of every man's name in this
 town,

town, that is fit to be seen upon the stage before the duke and dutches.

Bot. Good Peter Quince, go to work in a method. Begin at the top, and go on to the bottom ; that is, whereof as a man may say, first tell us what the play treats of, then read the names of the actors, and so your business will stand by itself as regular, as a building set upon the very pinnacle of its foundation.

Quin. Why then the play is the most delectable and lamentable comedy entitled and called, the cruel tragedy of the death of Pyramus and Thisby !

Bot. A very moving play, I warrant it. A very deep tragedy, I know by the sound of the title of it. Pyramus and Thisby ! I suppose they are to have their throats cut from ear to ear, or their bellies ripped up from the waist-bands of their breeches to their chins. Well, now, good Peter, call forth your actors by the scowl. Masters, spread yourselves out into a clump, every man conjunctly by himself.

Quin. Answer, as I call you. Nick Bottom, weaver.

Bot. Ready. Name my part and proceed.

Quin. You, Nick Bottom, are set down for Pyramus.

Bot. I am to play Pyramus. Well, and who is Pyramus ? A gentleman or a simple man ?

Quin. Pyramus is a lover, and Thisby is his sweet-heart. Pyramus kills himself for grief, because a lion got hold of Thisby's cloak, and tore it, which makes Pyramus conclude, as how he had tore her too, and eaten her up, all but the cloak ; whereof he had not touched her. So that poor Pyramus loses his life d'ye see, for nothing at all ; whereof you know, that it is enough to make a man hang himself.

Bot. What then am I to hang myself for vexation, because I had killed myself for nothing ?

Quin. No ; that is not in the play.

Bot. Here will be salt tears wept, or I am mistaken. An I be the man, that acts this same Pyramus, let the ladies look to their eyes. I will condole and congratulate to some tune. I will break every heart that is not double

double hooped with flint. I have a main notion of acting your lovyer, that is crossed in love. There is but one thing that is more to my humor than your tribulation lovyer. That is, your tyrant ; your thundering tyrant. I could play you, for example, I could play you such a tyrant as Herricoles, when he gets on the brim-stone shirt, and is all on fire, as the unlucky boys burn a great rat alive with spirits. And then, when he takes up little—what's his name.—to squir him off of the cliff into the sea. O then 'tis fine, “I'll split the raging rocks ; and shivering shocks, with thundering knocks, shall break the locks of prison gates. And Febal's car shall shine from far, and kindle war with many a scar, “and make and mar the stubborn fates.” There is your right tragedy stuff. This is Herricole's vein to a hair. This is your only true tyrant's vein. Your lovyer's is more upon the condoling and congratulating. Now Peter Quince, name the rest of the players.

Quin. Francis Flute, bellows mender.

Flute. Here, Peter Quince.

Quin. Francis, you must take Thisby on you.

Flute. What, that is to be Nick Bottom's sweetheart, and to have my cloak worried alive by the great beast ? why, Peter, I have a beard a coming. I shan't make a clever woman, as you may say, unless it were Mrs. What d'ye call her, Mrs. Tibby's mother or aunt. Has not the gentlewoman of the play a mother, or an aunt, that appears ?

Quin. Yes; but you most do Thisby. You will do Thisby well enough, man. You shall do it in a mask. Robin Starveling, tailor.

Star. Here, Peter Quince.

Quin. You must play Pyramus's father ; I will play Thisby's father ; Flute must play Thisby ; and Snowt Thisby's mother. Simon Snug, joiner.

Snug. Here, Peter Quince.

Quin. Simon, you must act the part of the lion.

Snug. Hoh ! the part of the lion, do you say, Peter Quince ?

Quince ? why I never made a beast of myself in my life, but now and then, when I have drunk a cup too much.

Quin. Pshaw, pshaw, a better man, than you or I either, has been made a beast before now ; ay, and a horn'd beast too. But the lion is a royal beast, the king of beasts. So, Simon, you must play the part of the lion.

Snug. Well, but an it be a long part, I can't remember it ; for I have but a poor brain. Let me see how many pages.

Quin. Why, Simon, it is not written. And for the matter of that, you may do it off hand. It is nothing but roaring.

Bot. I'll tell you what, Peter Quince ; you were better to let me act the part of the lion. Simon Snug is but a hen-hearted sort of a fellow. He won't roar you so loud as a mouse in the hole in the wall. But, if you will let me play the part, I will make such a noise, as shall do any man's heart good to hear me. I will roar, that the duke shall cry, encore, encore, let him roar, let him roar, once more, once more.

Quin. But if you were too terrible, you might frighten the duchess and the ladies, that they would shriek, and that were enough to hang us all.

Bot. Ay, if the duchess and the ladies were frightened out of their wits, to be sure, perhaps, they might have no more wit, than to get us all hang'd : but do you think, Peter Quince, that I have no more inhumanity in my nature, than to frighten people ? I would restrain and aggravate my voice, that I would roar you as gentle as any fucking dove ; I would roar you an it were any nightingale.

Quin. I tell you, Nick Bottom, hold your tongue, with your roaring, and set your heart at rest. You shall play nothing but Pyranus.

Bot. Well, if I must, I must. What cannot be endur'd, you know, must be cur'd. But what beard were I best to play it in ?

Quin. You must not have on a grey beard, you know ; because it will not look natural for a man with a grey beard to be acting the part of a lovyer.

Bot.

Bot. Why, look you, Master Peter Quince, I don't think it so very unnatural to see people, with grey beards, acting the part of lovvers; at least, I am sure, it had not need be unnatural; for it is common enough. But, howsomdever it will look a little unnatural, as you say, to see the young woman, Mrs. Tibby, fondling and looking sweet upon a man with grey beard. Wherefore, upon minture liberation, I will play it in a beard black as jet.

Quin. Here, then, Masters, take your parts, and con them over with as much retention as you can; that you may be ready to rehearse by to-morrow night.

Bot. But where must we rehearse, Peter Quince.

Quin. Why, you know, if we should go to rehearse in a garret, or a malt-loft, we should but draw a mob, and perhaps get ourselves taken up for cromancers. Therefore we must go to the palace wood, and do it by moonlight. Then you know, we shall do it with dacity and imposure of mind, when there is no body to deplaud, or to hiss.

Bot. Right, Peter Quince. We will be ready for you.

[*Exeunt.*]

P O E T R Y.

Contempt of the common Objects of pursuit.

HONOR and shame from no condition rise;
Act well your part: There all the honor lies.
Fortune in men has some small difference made;
One flaunts in rags; one flutters in brocade;
The cobler apron'd, and the parson gown'd;
The friar hooded, and the monarch crown'd.
“ What differ more (you cry) than crown and cowl?”
I'll tell you, friend! A wise man and a fool.
You'll find, if once the wise man acts the monk:
Or, cobler like, the parson will be drunk;

Worth

Worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow ;
The rest is all but leather or prunella.

Stuck o'er with titles, and hung round with strings,
That thou may'st be by kings, or whores of kings.
Boast the pure blood of an illustrious race
In quiet flow from Lucrece or Lucrece :
But by your father's worth if yours you rate,
Count me those only, who were good and great.
Go ! if your ancient, but ignoble blood,
Has crept thro' scoundrels ever since the flood :
Go ! and pretend, your family is young ;
Nor own, your fathers have been fools so long.
What can ennable sots, or slaves, or cowards ?
Alas ! not all the blood of all the Howards.

Look next on greatness. Say, where greatness lies ?
Where, but among the heroes and the wise.

Heroes are all the same, it is agreed,
From Macedonia's madman to the Swede.
The whole strange purpose of their lives to find,
Or make—an enemy of all mankind.
Not one looks backward : onward still he goes ;
Yet ne'er looks forward, farther than his nose.
No less alike the politic and wise ;
All fly, flow things, with circumspective eyes :
Men in their loose, unguarded hours they take ;
Not that themselves are wise ; but others weak.
But grant that those can conquer ; these can cheat ;
'Tis phrase absurd to call a villain great.
Who wickedly is wise, or madly brave,
Is but the more a fool, the more a knave.
Who noble ends by noble means obtains,
Or, falling, smiles in exile, or in chains,
Like good Aurelius let him reign ; or bleed
Like Socrates ; that man is great indeed.

What's fame ? a fancy'd life in others' breath ;
A thing beyond us, ev'n before our death.
Just what you hear's your own ; and what's unknown,
The same (my lord !) if Tully's or your own.
All, that we feel of it, begins and ends
In the same circle of our toes, or friends ;

To

To all besides as much an empty shade,
An Eugene living, as a Cæsar dead ;
Alike or when, or where they shone, or shine,
Or on the Rubicon, or on the Rhine.

A wit's a feather, and a chief a rod ;
A honest man's the noblest work of God.
Fame, but from death a villain's name can save,
As justice tears his body from the grave ;
When what t' oblivion better were resign'd,
Is hung on high, to poison half mankind.
All fame is foreign, but of true desert ;
Plays round the head ; but comes not to the heart.
One self-approving hour whole years outweighs
Of stupid starers, and of loud huzzas ;
And more true joy Marcellus exil'd feels,
Than Cæsar with a senate at his heels.

In parts superior what advantage lies ?
Tell (for you can) what is it to be wise ?
'Tis but to know, how little can be known ;
To see all others faults and feel our own :
Condemn'd in busines, or in arts to drudge
Without a second, and without a judge.
Truths would you teach, to save a sinking land,
All fear ; none aid you. ; and few understand.
Painful pre-eminence ! yourself to view
Above life's weakness, and its comforts too.

Bring then these blessings to a strict account ;
Make fair deductions : see to what they mount.
How much of other each is sure to cost ;
How each for other oft is wholly lost ;
How inconsistent greater goods with these ;
How sometimes life is risqu'd, and always ease ;
Think. And if still such things thy envy call,
Say, would'st thou be the man to whom they fall ?
To sigh for ribbands if thou art so silly,
Mark how they grace Lord Umbra, or Sir Billy.
Is yellow dirt the passion of thy life :
Look but on Gripus or on Gripus' wife.
If parts allure thee, think how Bacon shin'd,
The wisest, brightest,—meanest of mankind :

Or

Or ravish'd with the whistling of a name,
See Cromwell damn'd to everlasting fame :
If all united thy ambition call,
From ancient story learn to scorn them all.

Various Characters.

TIS from high life high characters are drawn :
A saint in crape is twice a saint in lawn,
A judge is just ; a chanc'lor—juster still ;
A gownman learn'd ; a bishop—what you will ;
Wise, if a minister ; but if a king,
More wise, more just, more learn'd, more every thing.—
'Tis education forms the common mind ;
Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclin'd.
Boastful and rough, your first son is a 'squire ;
The next a tradesman, meek, and much a liar ;
Tom struts a soldier, open, bold, and brave ;
Will sneaks a scriv'ner, an exceeding knave ;
Is he a churchman ? Then he's fond of pow'r ;
A quaker ? Sly. A Presbyterian ? Sour ;
A smart free-thinker ? all things in an hour.—
Manners with fortunes, humors turns with climes,
Tenets with books, and principles with times.
Search then the ruling passion. There alone
The wild are constant, and the cunning known.

The World compared to a Stage.

AL L the world's a stage ;
And all the men and women, merely players.
They have their exits and their entrances ;
And one man, in his time, plays many parts,
His acts being seven ages.—At first, the infant ;
Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms.—
And, then, the whining school-boy ; with his satchel
And shining morning-face, creeping, like snail,
Unwillingly to school.—And, then, the lover ;
Sighing like furnace ; with a woeful ballad

Made to his mistress' eye-brow.—Then, a soldier ;
 Full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard ;
 Jealous in honor ; sudden and quick in quarrel ;
 Seeking the bubble reputation
 Even in the cannon's mouth.—And, then, the justice ;
 In fair round belly, with good capon lin'd ;
 With eyes severe, and beard of formal cut ;
 Full of wise saws and modern instances :
 And so he plays his part.—The sixth age shifts
 Into the lean and slipper'd pantaloon ;
 With spectacles on nose, and pouch on side ;
 His youthful hose, well sav'd a world too wide
 For his shrunk shank ; and his big manly voice,
 Turning again toward childish treble, pipes
 And whistles in his sound.—Last scene of all,
 That ends this strange eventful history,
 Is second childishness, and mere oblivion ;
 Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans every thing.

COLUMBUS to FERDINAND.

Columbus was a considerable number of years engaged in soliciting the court of Spain to fit him out, in order to discover a new continent, which he imagined existed somewhere in the western parts of the ocean. During his negotiations, he is supposed to address king Ferdinand in the following stanzas.

ILLUSTRIOUS monarch of Iberia's soil,
 Too long I wait permission to depart ;
 Sick of delays, I beg thy list'ning ear—
 Shine forth the patron and the prince of art.
 While yet Columbus breathes the vital air,
 Grant his request to pass the western main :
 Reserve this glory for thy native soil,
 And what must please thee more—for thy own reign.
 Of this huge globe how small a part we know—
 Does heaven their worlds to western suns deny ?—
 How disproportion'd to the mighty deep
 The lands that yet in human prospect lie ! Does

Does Cynthia, when to western skies arriv'd,
 Spend her sweet beam upon the barren main,
 And ne'er illume with midnight splendor, she,
 The native dancing on the lightsome green?—
 Should the vast circuit of the world contain
 Such wastes of ocean, and such scanty land?—
 'Tis reason's voice that bids me think not so,
 I think more nobly of the Almighty hand.
 Does yon fair lamp trace half the circle round
 To light the waves and monsters of the seas?—
 No—be there must beyond the billowy waste
 Islands, and men, and animals, and trees.
 An unremitting flame my breast inspires
 To seek new lands amidst the barren waves,
 Where falling low, the source of day descends,
 And the blue sea his evening visage laves.

Hear, in his tragic lay, Cordova's sage : *

" The time shall come, when numerous years are past,
 " The ocean shall dissolve the bands of things,
 " And an extended region rise at last ;
 " And Typhis shall disclose the mighty land
 " Far, far away, where none have rov'd before ;
 " Nor shall the world's remotest regions be
 " Gibralter's rock, or Thule's savage shore."

Fir'd at the theme, I languish to depart,
 Supply the barque, and bid Columbus fail,
 He fears no storms upon the untravell'd deep ;
 Reason shall steer, and skill disarm the gale.
 Nor does he dread to lose the intended course,
 Though far from land the reeling galley stray,
 And skies above and gulphy seas below
 Be the sole objects seen for many a day.
 Think not that nature has unveil'd in vain
 The mystic magnet to the mortal eye,
 So late have we the guiding needle plann'd
 Only to fail beneath our native sky?
 Ere this was found, the ruling power of all
 Found for our use an ocean in the land,

Its

* Seneca the poet, native of Cordova in Spain.

Its breadth so small we could not wander long.
 Nor long be absent from the neighboring strand.
 Short was the course, and guided by the stars,
 But stars no more shall point our daring way ;
 The Bear shall sink, and every guard be drown'd,
 And great Arcturus scarce escape the sea,
 When southward we shall steer—O grant my wish,
 Supply the barque, and bid Columbus sail,
 He dreads no tempests on the untravell'd deep,
 Reason shall steer, and skill disarm the gale.

Description of a Storm of Hail.

LONG rush'd the victors o'er the sanguine field,
 And scarce were Gibeon's loftiest spires beheld ;
 When up the west dark clouds began to rise,
 Sail'd o'er the hills and lengthen'd round the skies ;
 A ridge of folding fire, their summits shone ;
 But fearful blackness all beneath was thrown ;
 Swift round the sun the spreading gloom was hurl'd,
 And night, and solitude amazed the world.

At once the voice of deep resounding gales
 Rung slow and solemn in the distant vales :
 Then thro' the groves, and o'er the extended plain,
 With stormy rage the rapid whirlwinds ran.
 Red o'er the glimmering hills, with pomp divine,
 The lightning's flaming path began to shine :
 Far round the immense, unusual thunders driven,
 Proclaim'd the onset of approaching heaven :
 Astonish'd nature own'd the strange alarm,
 And the world trembled at the impending storm.
 O'er the dark fields aghast Canaan stream'd ;
 Thick in their course the scatter'd bucklers gleam'd,
 Behind them Joshua urged the furious car,
 And tenfold horrors hover'd round the war.

But when the Chief the spreading storm survey'd,
 And traced almighty arms in heaven display'd ;
 With piercing voice he gave the great command,
 Stand still, ye chosen sons, admiring stand !

Behold

Behold what awful scenes in heaven arise !
 Adore the Power, that brightens in the skies !
 Now God's tremendous arm asserts his laws ;
 Now bids his thunder aid the righteous cause ;
 Shows man, how virtue saves her chosen bands,
 And points the vengeance doom'd for guilty lands.
 Behold, what flames shoot forth ! what gloom ascends !
 How nature trembles ! how the concave rends !
 How the clouds darken ! see in yonder sky,
 Their opening skirts proclaim the Almighty nigh !
 He spoke, and from the north a rushing sound
 Roll'd thro' the heavens, and shook the embattled ground.
 Throned on a dark red cloud, an angel's form
 Sail'd, awfully sublime, above the storm.
 Half veil'd in mist, his countenance, like a sun,
 Inflamed the clouds, and thro' all ether shone :
 Long robes of crimson light behind him flow'd ;
 His wings were flames ; his locks were dy'd in blood ;
 Ten thousand fiery shapes were round him driven,
 And all the dazzling pomp of opening heaven.

Now, save Canaan's cries that feebly rung
 Round the dark plain, a fearful silence hung ;
 Stretch'd in dire terror o'er the quivering band,
 The ethereal Vision waved his sun-bright hand ;
 At once, from opening skies, red flames were hurl'd,
 And thunders, roll'd on thunders, rocked the world ;
 In one broad deluge sunk the avenging hail,
 And, piled with tempest, roar'd the hoary vale ;
 Fierce raging whirlwinds boundless nature blend,
 The streams rush back ; the tottering mountains bend ;
 Down the tall steep their bursting summits roll,
 And cliffs, on cliffs, hoarse-crashing, rend the pole.
 Far round the earth, a wild, drear horror reigns ;
 The high heavens heave, and roar the gloomy plains ;
 One sea of lightning all the region fills,
 And waves of fire ride surging o'er the hills :
 The nodding forests plunge in flame around,
 And with huge caverns gapes the shuddering ground.

Swifter than rapid winds Canaan driven
 Refuse the conflict of embattled Heaven.
 But the dire hail in vain the victims fly,
 And death unbounded shook from all the sky,
 The thunder's dark career, the seraph's arm,
 Fierce vengeance blazing down the immense of storm,
 From falling groves to burning plains they flew ;
 Hail roars around, and angry hosts pursue ;
 From shaking skies Almighty arms are hurl'd,
 And all the gloomy concave bursts upon the world.

Address to the Deity.

FATHER of light ! exhaustless source of good !
 Supreme, eternal, self-existent God !
 Before the beamy sun dispense'st a ray,
 Flam'd in the azure vault, and gave the day,
 Before the glimmering moon with borrow'd light
 Shone queen amid the silver host of night,
 High in the heavens, thou reign'd superior Lord,
 By suppliant angels worship'd and ador'd.
 With the celestial choir then let me join
 In cheerful praises to the Power Divine.
 To sing thy praise, do thou, O God ! inspire
 A mortal breast with more than mortal fire.
 In dreadful majesty thou sit'st enthron'd,
 With light encircled, and with glory crown'd ;
 Thro' all infinitude extends thy reign,
 For thee nor heaven, nor heaven of heavens contain ;
 But tho' thy throne is fix'd above the sky,
 Thy omnipresence fills immensity.
 Saints rob'd in white, to thee their anthems bring,
 And radiant martyrs hallelujahs sing :
 Heav'n's universal host their voices raise
 In one eternal concert to thy praise ;
 And round thy awful throne, with one accord,
 Sing Holy, holy, holy is the Lord.
 At thy creative voice, from ancient night,
 Sprang smiling beauty, and yon worlds of light :
 Thou spak'st—the planetary Chorus roll'd,
 Suspended worlds ! unmeasur'd and untold !

Let

Let there be light, said God,—light instant shone
 And from the orient burst the golden sun ;
 Heav'n's gazing hierarchies, with glad surprize,
 Saw the first morn invest the recent skies,
 And strait th' exulting troops thy throne surround
 With thousam'd thousand harps of rapturous sound ;
 Thrones, powers, dominions, (ever shining trains !)
 Shouted thy praises in triumphant strains :
 Great are thy works, they sing ; and all around,
 Great are thy works, the echoing heav'n's resound.
 Th' effulgent sun, unsufferably bright,
 Is but a ray of thy o'erflowing light ;
 The tempest is thy breath ; the thunder hurl'd
 Tremendous roars thy vengeance o'er the world ;
 Thou bow'st the heavn's, the smoking mountains nod,
 Rocks fall to dust, and nature owns her God ;
 Pale tyrants shrink, the atheist stands aghast,
 And impious kings in horror breathe their last.
 To this great God, alternately I'd pay
 Th' evening anthem, and the morning lay.

A Morning Hymn.

FROM night, from silence, and from death,
 Or death's own form, mysterious sleep,
 I wake to life, to light, and health :
 Thus me doth Israel's Watchman keep.
 Sacred to Him, in grateful praise,
 Be this devoted tranquil hour,
 While Him, supremely good and great,
 With rapturous homage I adore.
 What music breaks from yonder copse ?
 The plumy songster's artless lay ;
 Melodious songsters, nature-taught !
 That warbling hail the dawning day.
 Shall Man be mute, while Instinct sings ?
 Nor human breast with transport rise ?
 O for an universal hymn,
 To join the chorus of th' skies !

See you' resplendent lamp of day,
 With unabating glory crown'd,
 Rejoicing in his giant strength,
 To run his daily destin'd round.
 So may I still perform thy will,
 Great Sun of nature and of grace !
 Nor wander devious from thy law ;
 Nor faint in my appointed race.
 What charms display th' unfolding flowers ?
 How beauteous glows the enamel'd mead ?
 More beauteous still the heaven-wrought robe,
 Of purest white, and fac'd with red.
 The sun exhales the pearly dews,
 Those brilliant sky-shed tears, that mourn
 His nightly loss ; till from earth's cheek
 They're kiss'd away, by pitying morn.
 For laps'd mankind what friendly tears
 Bent on our weal, did angels shed ?
 Bound, bound our hearts, to think those tears
 Made frustrate all, when Jesus bled !
 Arabia wafts from yonder grove
 Delicious odours in the gale ;
 And with her breeze-born fragrance greets,
 Each circumjacent hill and dale.
 As incense may my morning song,
 A sweetly smelling savour rise,
 Perfum'd with Gilead's precious balm,
 To make it grateful to the skies.
 And when from death's long sleep I wake,
 To nature's renovating day,
 Cloath me with thy own righteousness,
 And in thy likeness, Lord, array.

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Verses occasioned by General Washington's arrival in Philadelphia, on his way to his seat in Virginia.

THE great, unequal conflict past,
The Briton banish'd from our shore,

Peace

Peace, heav'n-descended, comes at last,
And hostile nations rage no more;

From fields of death the weary swain
Returning, seeks his native plain.

In every vale she smiles serene,
Freedom's bright stars more radiant rise,
New charms she adds to every scene,
Her brighter sun illumines our skies;

Remotest realms admiring stand,
And hail the hero of our land;

He comes!—the Genius of these lands—
Fame's thousand tongues his worth confess,
Who conquer'd with his suffering bands
And grew immortal by distress:

Thus calms succeed the stormy blast,
And valor is repaid at last.

O Washington!—thrice glorious name,
What due rewards can man decree—

Empires are far below thy aim,
And sceptres have no charms for thee;

Virtue alone has thy regard,
And she must be thy great reward.

Encircled by extorted power,
Monarchs must envy thy retreat,
Who cast, in some ill fated hour,
Their country's freedom at their feet;

'Twas thine to act a nobler part
For injur'd Freedom had thy heart.

For ravag'd realms and conquer'd seas
Rome gave the great imperial prize,
And, swell'd with pride, for feats like these,
Transferr'd her heroes to the skies:—

A brighter scene your deeds display,
You gain those heights a different way.

When Faction rear'd her snaky head,
And join'd with tyrants to destroy,
Where'er you march'd the monster fled,
Tim'rous her arrows to employ;

Hosts catch'd from you a bolder flame,
And despots trembled at your name.

Ere war's dread horrors ceas'd to reign,
What leader could your place supply?—
Chiefs crowded to the embattled plain,
Prepar'd to conquer or to die—

Heroes arose—but none like you
Could save our lives and freedom too.

In swelling verse let kings be read,
And princes shine in polish'd prose;
Without such aid your triumphs spread
Where'er the convex ocean flows,
To Indian worlds by seas embrac'd,
And Tartar, tyrant of the waste.

Throughout the east you gain applause,
And soon the old world, taught by you,
Shall blush to own her barbarous laws,
Shall learn instruction from the new:

Monarchs shall hear the humble plea,
Nor urge too far the proud decree.

Despising pomp and vain parade,
At home you stay, while France and Spain
The secret, ardent wish convey'd,
And hail'd you to their shores in vain:

In Vernon's groves you shun the throne,
Admir'd by kings, but seen by none.

Your fame, thus spread to distant lands,
May envy's fiercest blasts endure,
Like Egypt's pyramids it stands,
Built on a basis more secure;

Time's latest age shall own in you
The patriot and the statesman too.

Now hurrying from the busy scene,
Where thy Petowmack's waters flow,
May'st thou enjoy thy rural reign,
And every earthly blessing know;

Thus He * who Rome's proud legions sway'd,
Return'd, and sought his sylvan shade.

Not less in wisdom than in war
Freedom shall still employ your mind,

Slavery

* Cincinnatus.

Slavery shall vanish, wide and far,
 'Till not a trace is left behind ;
 Your counsels not bestow'd in vain
 Shall still protect this infant reign.
 So when the bright, all-cheering sun
 From our contracted view retires,
 Though fools may think his race is run,
 On other worlds he lights his fires :
 Cold climes beneath his influence glow,
 And frozen rivers learn to flow.
 O say, thou great, exalted name !
 What muse can boast of equal lays,
 Thy worth disdains all vulgar fame,
 Transcends the noblest poet's praise.
 Art soars unequal to the flight,
 And genius sickens at the height.
 For states redeem'd—our western reign
 Restor'd by thee to milder sway,
 Thy conscious glory shall remain
 When this great globe is swept away,
 And all is lost that pride admires,
 And all the pageant scene expires.

Hymn to Peace.

HAIL, sacred Peace, who claim'st thy bright abode
 'Mid circling faints that grace the throne of God,
 Before his arm, around this shapeless earth,
 Stretch'd the wide heav'ns and gave to nature birth ;
 Ere morning stars his glowing chambers hung,
 Or songs of gladness woke an angel's tongue ;
 Veil'd in the brightness of th' Almighty's mind,
 In blest repose thy placid form reclined ;
 Borne through the heaven, with his creating voice,
 Thy presence bade the unfolding worlds rejoice,
 Gave to seraphic harps their sounding lays,
 Their joy to angels, and to men their praise.

From scenes of blood, these beauteous shores that stain,
 From gasping friends that press the sanguine plain,

From

From fields, long taught in vain thy flight to mourn,
 I rise, delightful power, and greet thy glad return.
 Too long the groans of death and battle's bray
 Have rung discordant through the unpleasing lay ;
 Let pity's tear its balmy fragrance shed,
 O'er hero's wounds and patriot warriors dead :
 Accept, departed shades, these grateful sighs,
 Your fond attendants to the approving skies.
 But now the untuneful trump shall grate no more,
 Ye silver streams, no longer swell with gore ;
 Bear from your beauteous banks the crimson stain,
 With yon retiring navies to the main ;
 While other views unfolding on my eyes,
 And happier themes bid bolder numbers rise.
 Bring, bounteous Peace, in thy celestial throng,
 Life to my soul, and rapture to my song ;
 Give me to trace, with pure unclouded ray,
 The arts and virtues that attend thy sway ;
 To see thy blissful charms that here descend,
 Thro' distant realms and endless years extend.

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F I N I S.



E R R O R S.

Page 144. line 2, from the bottom, for *bundred* read *thousand*.

Page 151. There was a bill brought into the legislature of New-York for declaring Vermont an independent state; but it has not yet passed into a law.

Ibid. Note. For, *Ver-mons*, read *Verd-mons^t*.

Page 216. line 7, for *polite*, read *politic*.

